Organising and Storytelling: An insight into selected dark tourism sites in the UK and Spain

Rodriguez, Beatriz

Award date:
2015

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

Organising and Storytelling:

An insight into selected dark tourism sites in the UK and Spain.

Beatriz Rodriguez Garcia

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

School of Management

October 2015

Abstract

Visiting sites of death, war, atrocities and other gruesome events is known as 'dark tourism'. Despite a considerable growth of the literature exploring the visitor experiences in dark tourism sites, little attention has been paid to the narratives and stories conveyed to the visitors of such sites and the way these stories are chosen, developed, delivered and contested through particular experiences in dark tourism sites and beyond. These are the issues this study sought out to find answers for. Specifically, this ethnographic research was conducted from two perspectives: that of the organisations responsible for the sites and that of the observer/researcher. To such aim, ethnographic data collection methods were used, mainly non-participant observations at particular dark tourism sites and semi-structured interviews with key informants (e.g., curators, employees and other groups associated with these places).

The main findings of this study are: firstly, that storytelling and stories constitute the essence of visitor experiences and the product that is offered in dark tourism sites. This product -namely, individual stories within and the overall narrative of the dark site carries certain emotions and meanings that are communicated through different narrative techniques and/or artefacts (e.g., tour guides, brochures, and signs). Secondly, engaging visitors mentally and emotionally at dark tourism sites is of upmost importance if dark tourism organisations are to fulfil their aims such as entertainment, commemoration, and education. Last but not least, broader socio-historical contexts of each dark tourism organisation/site shape the sites' organisational aims as well as the stories, storytelling approach, and the overall narrative each dark site organisation offers to its visitors.

Subsequently, the empirical findings of this exploration of six dark tourism cases (three in Spain and three in the UK), which are set against a review of existing literature offer a platform for a theoretical contribution to the study of organisational storytelling in dark tourism sites. In particular, the study found different degrees of narrativisation and especially different extents of control exercised over narrative along Barthes' Readerly-Writerly dimensions. A model of *Dark Tourism Organising*

and Storytelling Dimensions has been drawn, offering a distillation of the thesis' contribution. This visual representation can be useful for both researchers and practitioners as it gives an overview of how storytelling and narratives are organised at dark tourism sites, as well as these organising acts' different underpinnings and dynamics.

Key words: Dark Tourism, Dark Tourism Sites, Dark Tourism Organisations, Organising, Narratives, Stories, Storytelling.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my interviewees and contacts in the UK and Spain, all of whom have made this study possible. Additionally, special gratitude goes to those interviewees who gave me the opportunity to hear their and/or their relatives' personal stories of tragedy, sadness, and loss. Each and every one of them has moved me and made me learn in many different ways that I never expected before embarking on this PhD. I hope this thesis makes justice to their stories and act as a remembrance to them and to all those who have suffered human barbarity in one-way or another.

To my PhD supervisor, Professor Yiannis Gabriel, thank you. You have been an incredible help and positive influence throughout my PhD journey, always encouraging me and guiding me until I could see 'the light at the end of the tunnel'. For all this and more, I will always be grateful.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr. Philip Stone and Dr. Matthijs Bal for their advice and feedback to make this a better thesis. I truly appreciate it.

I would also like to thank the Organisational Studies department at the University of Bath for awarding me the GRS scholarship that facilitated this PhD.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and close friends from the bottom of my heart. They have been with me in good and bad times, and have always believed in me, encouraged me, listened to me, and more importantly supported me unreservedly. To all of them, *Gracias!*

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Definition of key terms

Dark tourism: "The visitation to any site associated with death, disaster and tragedy […] for remembrance, education or entertainment" (Foley and Lennon, 1997, p155). Therefore, the label 'dark tourism' has been given to "the phenomenon by which people visit, purposefully or as part of a broader recreational itinerary, the diverse range of sites, attractions and exhibitions which offer a (re)presentation of death and suffering" (Stone, 2006, p146).

Dark sites: The term 'dark sites' refers to places where dramatic, tragic or violent events have taken place in recent or distant past, or to recently established sites aimed at memorialising such events. These events can include killings, massacres and natural disasters (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Tarlow, 2005). Dark sites include tourist attractions, museum exhibitions and visitors sites that commercialise and/or commemorate acts of war, tragedy and atrocity (Stone, 2006).

Dark tourism organisations: This can be narrowly defined as the organisations behind the creation, organisation and management of dark tourism sites. For example, Historic Royal Palaces is the organisation that manages the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace while Patrimonio Nacional is the organisation responsible for The Valley of the Fallen, in Madrid. These, alongside other dark tourism organisations are studied in this thesis.

Stakeholders: Stakeholders can be defined as "a group or an individual which is seen as having some special interest or stake in an organisation, and its activities can influence them in some way or other" (Gabriel, 2008, p279). The stakeholders considered in this study are all those individuals and groups that have an interest and/or influence in how dark tourism sites are created, organised and managed. These include managers and employees of the dark tourism site, private and public organisations, victims' relatives (associations), political groups/parties, academics, international organisations, visitors, and so on.

Story and storytelling: In this study, story is understood as a description of "a sequence of actions and experiences done or undergone by a certain number of people whether real or imaginary" (Ricoeur, 1984, p150). This description includes a certain progression pattern- namely, "a beginning, middle and ending" and "is held together by recognizable patterns of events called plots" (Sarbin, 1986, p3). Storytelling can be thus considered as the telling or communication of stories by organisations that use this tool as "a vivid, memorable way to pass on an organization's history, values, and vision" (Kaye and Jacobson, 1999, p1).

Narrative and narrative experience: In this study, narrative refers to how specific and/or overall meanings conveyed in a dark site are achieved by use of a distinctive plot and other tropes of meaning. Therefore, this study pays attention to seemingly non-story aspects such as how an exhibition is laid out and the way artefacts are presented in a dark site. In addition to actual stories and history, the study describes and analyses these non-story representations as part of a grander organisational narrative or way of explaining, which are expected to influence how people perceive the site and experience it, for example as a place of sadness and contemplation or scary fun. In this respect, **narrativised artefacts** in this study refers to those objects found at dark tourism sites that support or enhance the stories within, and help create and deliver the overall narrative of each site. These artefacts include posters, videos, audios, personal belongings, weapons, paintings, and re-created environments among others. With all the previous in mind, this study explores the narrative experience by visitors at dark tourism sites and how these are devised and conveyed in different ways by dark tourism organisations. For instance, an artefact might be placed in a particular place in an exhibition to create an impact on visitors or perhaps evoke a particular emotion. Similarly, other aspects of the site, such as the layout and the lighting may all be calculated to nudge visitors to feel or understand the site in a particular way.

“Is it right to turn other people’s death or misery into a spectacle? Why are humans even attracted to morbid places?” (Daams, 2007, para8)

Document outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. **Chapter 1** is an introduction to the background of the study, setting the research in a wider scholarly context and explaining its purpose in relation to existing knowledge on the topics studied. Then, the research process of this study is illustrated, followed by a summary of the key findings of the study. **Chapter 2** explores the literature in the field of dark tourism and that of narratives and storytelling in daily life and organisations. Among the topics reviewed, there are the emotional aspects of dark tourism experiences and the issues of ethics encountered by dark tourism organisations. Moreover, aspects such as dark tourism semiotics, 'selective amnesia', dark tourism sites' stakeholders, and their possible 'othering' are explored. Informed by these explorations, the main research question and objectives are presented in detail.

Chapter 3 outlines the qualitative research methodology that was used in this study. In total, six case studies were chosen for the purposes of this study, specifically three from the UK (the Tower of London, Hampton Court Palace and the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum London[1], all in London) and three from Spain (The Valley of the Fallen in Madrid, the ruins of Old Belchite in Zaragoza, and the Guernica Peace Museum in Guernica). Looking at two different countries not only provided a wider perspective in relation to the findings but also allowed the researcher to explore the effects of social and historical context-related factors on the storytelling and narratives in dark tourism sites. Context-related factors included the proximity of events in time and space (in relation to the site in question), their level of magnitude and controversy, the availability of artefacts that sustain these effects. In exploring the selected cases, the researcher mainly made use of ethnographic data collection methods such as semi-structured interviews with key informant and non-participant observations at the chosen sites. Chapter 3 also discusses the reflexive approach taken in this study, and includes an excerpt from the researcher's diary, kept for this purpose. The chapter then explains the data collection methods, including data transcription, translation (when necessary), and analysis. The ethical considerations and a framework that informs the discussion of the study's applicability and limitations are explained at the end of Chapter 3.

[1] IWML henceforth

Chapter 4 presents a case-by-case analysis of the empirical material collected during the fieldwork in the UK and Spain. It demonstrates how stories and narrativised artefacts are used in distinctive ways in these dark sites by dark tourism organisations. To illustrate these findings, a table is presented, which provides a snapshot of all the cases and findings together. **Chapter 5** offers a detailed discussion of the findings across the six sites. These are compared with the literature review with a view to further demonstrating the contribution of this research to the existing body of knowledge. At the end of this chapter, a model of dark tourism organising and storytelling is introduced and explained. This model, as previously mentioned, is based on the theoretical framework and main findings of this research. **Chapter 6** offers a detail explanation of the theoretical, empirical, and practical contributions of this study. Following this, the applicability and limitations of this study are explained to highlight directions for future research. The thesis ends with a personal reflexive commentary.

“Remember, darkness does not always equate to evil, just as light does not always bring good” (Cast, 2007, p109)

Chapter 1. Introduction

Many people today seem not to get enough macabre by just watching a horror movie or reading a book, be they fiction or history. More and more people appear to believe that to have an authentic experience they must visit sites where gruesome events took place. Visiting cemeteries, battlefields, concentration camps, disaster zones or even doing a walking ghost tour is all part of what is known as dark tourism. Referring to such activities as tourism might sound strange to some, not only for the seemingly macabre and perhaps even grotesque nature of the sites visited but also for the fact that sometimes such activities can be done for leisure. Agree or disagree, the truth is that this is a trend on the rise (Stone, 2010; 2013). This type of tourism has created a business opportunity for many professionals inside the tourism industry, and it is well catered for by an increasing number of sites and organisations around the world. Nevertheless, this activity creates its own problems, including managerial, organisational and interpretative ones, to name some (See Garcia, 2012).

Through storytelling, narrativised artefacts, and carefully devised experiences at dark tourism sites, dark tourism organisations have given individuals the opportunity to remember, commemorate and make sense of the past. However, problems arise when these organisations have to decide not only which history prevails and is commemorated, but also how to convey this to visitors. Site managers may have to take these issues into account and deliver stories with rigorous respect for the living and the dead. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that visitors might leave a site without appreciating the full scale of human tragedy that took place (or is represented) in that particular site. Such a possibility brings in questions about the aims and functions of dark tourism. Additionally, visitors' perceptions and interpretations of dark tourism sites are not just down to visitors themselves. These are open to influence firstly by site-organisations that actively attempt to manage these with storytelling and narrativised artefacts; and secondly by stakeholders-namely, other organisations and groups, such as victims associations, that contest or support site-organisations' activities.

Accordingly, the purpose of this study is firstly to explore what functions stories (real or fictional), storytelling (referring to telling of stories to reach particular

organisational aims) and narratives (referring to tools of meaning making) have in the creation, organisation, and management of dark tourism sites. Secondly, the study aims to find out how dark tourism organisations decide on and manage visitors' narrative (overall) experience in these sites. More specifically, the study explores the organisational reasoning behind using particular storytelling, and narratives at dark sites. Relatedly, the thesis investigates the ways in which dark tourism site-organisations are contested and influenced in the process by different stakeholders such as host communities, victims, and visitors. Such an in-depth exploration of the role of stories, storytelling and narratives in the creation and management of dark tourism sites has rarely been carried out in existing studies. More generally, while much of the dark tourism research has explored the nature of visitor experience (Yuill, 2003; Ozer *et al.;* 2012), there is still a "need for research into the implications of differing narratives and different forms of interpretation on the nature and consequences of visitors' experiences at dark sites" (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p250). Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the existing literature by considering the dark tourism site creation and management in relation to organisational storytelling and narratives, and their role in the overall visitor experience. These explorations are made in relation to the dark tourism organisations behind the selected sites as well as my observations and experiences as a researcher in these sites.

The relevance of stories to dark tourism organisations stems from the recounting of the past in human time- namely, plotting connections between selected events, actions and experiences beyond a mere chronology. With their plots, stories therefore have a capacity to "pass moral judgments" and hence "stimulat[e] strong emotions" (Gabriel, 2008, p282) in visitors to dark tourism sites. This ability to evoke strong emotions is at the heart of storytelling by dark tourism organisations. That is why dark tourism organisations use guided tours and narrativised artefacts, such as leaflets, explanation boards, paper and audio-visual tools, to convey their most important product, i.e. stories, and to enhance the overall narrative at dark tourism sites. A relevant concept here is the poetic license of the storyteller, which refers to storyteller embellishing facts and generic explanations to create stronger emotions in his/her audience (Gabriel, 2000). It is in fact this license that is "the basis of the bond that unites storyteller and audience" (Gabriel, 2000, p31). This is

why dark tourism organisations, by using storytelling tools might embellish historical facts or generic explanations of human experience in order to create a more powerful and/or entertaining narrative for their audience (Chronis, 2005).

Correspondingly, in this study narrative is understood as how actual visitation experiences to dark tourism sites are constituted and stories told through the introduction of a plot. This type of emplotment relates not just to the sequencing of selected past events and actions in accordance with their perceived contribution to the overall outcome (i.e. the story), but also the use of particular artefacts and overall physical and sensory layout at dark sites. This broad understanding of narrative in dark tourism sites is partly inspired from leading scholarly accounts on human knowing and explanation (e.g., Sarbin, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988; Bruner 1991, Czarniawska, 2004; Gabriel 2008). These accounts point to the essential role plots have in our knowing and explanations of human experience. The unique aspect of narrative knowledge is that it generates meanings by emplotment in human time and experience. This contrasts with a logic-scientific mode that reaches explanations of outcomes in reference to scientific and logical generalizations beyond human time (Polkinghorne, 1988). Despite this difference, narrative scholars point to universally recognised patterns within stories- namely, dramaturgical conventions of romance, tragedy, comedy, and satire, and embellishments via rhetorical tropes of metaphor and irony, among others (Czarniawska, 2004, pp20-1; Gabriel 2000, p36).

As a matter of fact, there is now a growing literature on dark tourism in terms of case studies on specific dark sites, types of dark tourism experiences, management issues, visitors' motivations, and ethical issues concerning site-management and visitor experiences (see Sharpley and Stone, 2012). Nevertheless, there is much less research on stories as one of the central features of the product on offer at dark tourism sites, and on the meanings attached to specific places and events and the emotions that are meant to be evoked via stories about these places and events. For this reason, this study approaches some of the aforementioned dark tourism topics from a new theoretical and methodological perspective, which highlights a narrative approach to social and organisational life (Tsoukas and Hatch, 2001; Cunliffe, 2003). Narratives, according to this perspective, are a major tool of organising, sensemaking, legitimization, education and entertainment in social and

organisational contexts. Consequently, organisations are systematically involved in the production, refinement and dissemination of stories (Boje 2001; Gabriel 2000; Czarniawska 1997). As a matter of fact, several studies on dark tourism have started to point at the relevance of storytelling and narratives to our understanding of the some of the most discussed issues in dark tourism literature such as interpretation and ethics (Lennon and Foley, 1999; Stone, 2009). However, there is yet to be a comprehensive study employing a narrative approach to these and other dark tourism issues. Besides, a narrative approach can also be conducive to understanding inter-group and inter-organisational dynamics in dark tourism. This is because different stakeholders cooperate and compete in offering and promoting their own stories. These stakeholder relationships shape dark tourism products and experiences. A narrative approach can therefore offer insights into stakeholder relationships in dark site organisations.

With all the previously introduced aspects considered, qualitative data collection methods, including semi-structured interviews, observations and a reflexive personal diary were used at six different dark tourism sites. To be precise, three dark sites from the UK and three from Spain were explored to find out how and why particular stories are used at these sites according to the organisations behind their management.

A summary of the key findings of this study are as follows:

- Stories presented at dark tourism sites are the product that makes dark site visitation complete and attractive for visitors. Dark tourism organisations convey this product through different activities such as guided tours; and by using different formats such as exhibition layouts, videos, posters, and costumed interpretation. Some dark tourism organisations create stories around the physical remains and real artefacts of a particular event, while others have to (re)construct artefacts and even resort to fictional stories to support and complete the narrative (overall experience) of each dark site. It is these real and/or fictional stories complemented by real and/or reconstructed artefacts that transform visitor experiences at dark sites into one of intense emotions.

- The emotions and experiences invoked for visitors in dark sites by stories and narrativised artefacts are closely associated with site-organisations' aims such as commemoration, remembrance, education, and entertainment. These aims are shaped by broader social and historical context and associated stakeholder dynamics. Consequently, certain stories associated with a tragic past are told in particular ways or removed altogether from the overall narrative and thus visitor experience in dark sites. In the process, particular voices are knowingly drowned or 'othered', especially when they do not fit the desired narrative experience and the relevant organisational aims. In doing these types of 'story editing and policing', site-organisations try to avoid getting involved with particular controversies that surround a tragic past or becoming a dark tourism site/organisation.

- More specifically, the narratives and storytelling approaches used at dark tourism sites are dependent on what a dark tourism organisation desires visitors to get out of their visits, mainly at an emotional and intellectual level. If the aim is for visitors to have a fun day out, then the tone of stories about tragic events is upbeat and even humorous. Likewise, if an organisation desires visitors to experience sadness and shock, then the tone is mostly likely sombre. The layout of an exhibition, the artefacts and even the lighting used at dark sites all aim to contribute to the desired emotional and intellectual engagement of visitors with the stories told.

- This study has identified and explored the different dimensions and dynamics of organising and storytelling at dark tourism sites, something not previously done in the literature. Subsequently, a new theoretical model has been created based on the existing literature and the findings of this study. This model can be found in Chapter 5.

- In this study, the data collection was mainly achieved via semi-structured interviews and non-participant observations. Nevertheless, this ethnographic data was complemented by a process of "outing" of the researcher's reflexive self and "through examining [the researcher's] personal responses" to the dark tourism sites and the stories within (Finlay, 2002, p531-2). With the use of my voice reflecting on my experiences as a researcher and a visitor in the selected sites, this study aims to present a more holistic understanding of the storytelling approaches and outcomes in dark tourism sites.

Summary of the research process

This research project started with the idea of combining existing dark tourism theories with theories on organising and storytelling in daily life and organisations. After an initial exploration of the relevant literature and the emergent themes, a set of research questions were formulated and a qualitative methodology was chosen. As a start, three pilot observations were conducted (two in London and one in Spain). The analysis of these observations led to the expansion of the literature reviewed and the modification to the research questions. These revisions informed the final research question and objectives, and the observations at each of the six sites and the interviews with various stakeholders. After the data analysis and the discussion of findings, a model as a visual representation of the theoretical and empirical contribution of this thesis was developed (see figure 37 in chapter 5). Figure 1 depicts the steps taken in the study:

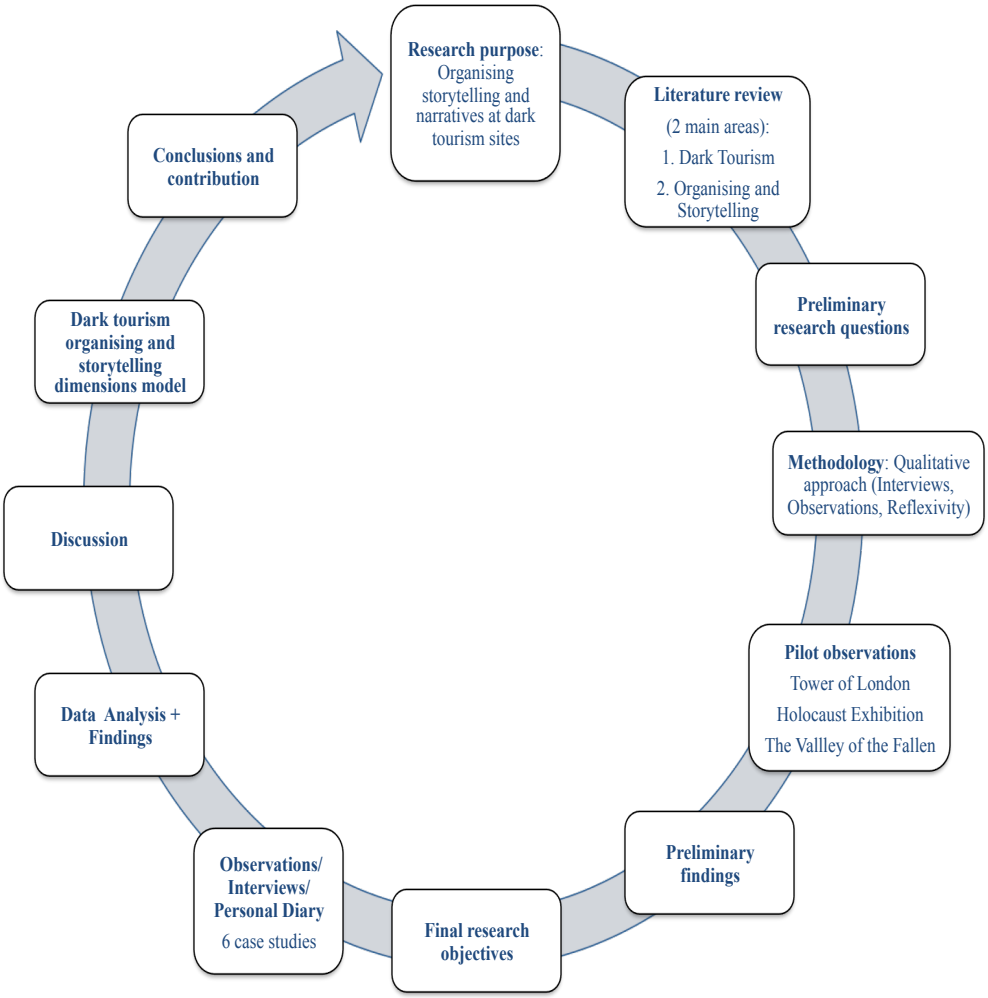


Figure 1. Research process diagram

“Dark tourism provides a contemporary lens of leisure through which life and death may be glimpsed, thus revealing relationships and consequences of the processes involved that mediate between the individual and collective self” (Stone and Sharpley, 2013, p55)

Chapter 2. Literature review; research purpose and objectives

Literature Review

The following literature review is organised thematically, starting with an exploration of the concepts of organising and storytelling organisations, followed by an overview of the existing literature on dark tourism and dark tourism sites. In doing so, the literature review focuses on how narratives and storytelling are used in and by organisations for various purposes such as sensemaking, education, and entertainment. Dark tourism organisations use storytelling and narratives to interpret the past and entertain their visitors in particular ways to evoke certain visitor emotions. The latter is in fact central to the overall visitor experience. How organisations attempt to 'prescribe' certain emotions to visitors is therefore discussed in this literature review. In this vein, some dark tourism organisations may prefer to create a visitor experience that would leave nothing to visitors' imagination, which minimises the space for self-interpretation. On the other hand, some dark tourism organisations may actually provide some room and even encourage visitors to make their own interpretations about the site and the stories told within.

These aforementioned interpretative approaches on the part of dark tourism organisations are best captured by two concepts coined by Roland Barthes (1974) to denominate two different types of literary texts; Readerly-namely, texts that will not allow or encourage independent interpretation; and Writerly- namely, texts that encourage interpretation beyond what is written. Despite their relevance to the dark tourism experiences, Barthes' conceptual frames have never been applied to their study. These concepts are therefore explored in detail towards the end of the chapter. Readerly and Writerly experiences however do not emerge in a vacuum. Dark tourism organisations face major challenges posed by different stakeholder in relation to the interpretation of the past and the way these interpretations are conveyed to visitors. It is also important to explore how broader social and historical contexts, including political ideologies underlay dark tourism sites, and the related influences and challenges they face, especially in relation to their organisational storytelling and narrative approach. With this in mind, aspects such as purposeful 'othering' of certain groups from the official narrative, and 'selective amnesia' (i.e.

organisational and societal, forgetting of certain traumatic episodes for specific aims) are explored. All these major themes and more are unfolded theme by theme in the following literature review.

Organising and organisations

"The subject is organisations; the verb is organizing" (Scott and Davis, 2013, p1)

We, as humans, need to organise things on a regular basis. From arranging our schedule to sorting out the house or finding ways of dealing with stress or grief, a diverse range of activities are all about organising. This not only gives us control over many aspects of our lives and the events that happen to us, but also provides a way of making sense of the things that happen to and around us. Organising involves "planning, controlling, coordinating different actions, and ensuring that resources are available where and when we need them to ensure we can act effectively [because] when organizing fails, we find ourselves spending much time looking for things […] uncertain as to what to do, and getting frustrated and anxious" (Gabriel, 2008, p212). Consequently, organising is crucial for everyone, and even more so when we work or live with other human beings, for example, in organisations. However, the concept of organisation is a "relatively recent social phenomena, while [on the contrary] organising has always been part of human life" (ibid, p209). Nevertheless, nowadays organisations have become a crucial part of our lives as "we are born in organisations, we grow up with them, we gain our living with them, when we die they take care of the practicalities and of the rituals" because after all "to organize is human" (Kostera, 2005, p60). Bearing this in mind, it could be argued that organisations by their prevalence obscure the importance of organising in our lives as they achieve this on our behalf as customers, employees, members, and so on.

Coming back to organising in organisations, this was described by Czarniawska (2008a) as the action of bringing together all fragmented events, stories and actions found in an organisation into a single overall narrative that would not make sense if narrated merely chronologically. It is therefore important for any organisations to organise and create a story about them and their history that encompasses all the different aspects mentioned before. As Gabriel (2008) put it "organising [….] is a constant sensemaking process [as well as] a constant effort to impose some order on our perceptions, experiences, and expectations without which

life would be impossible" (p209). In view of this, organisations can be considered vehicles or tools that aid organising all aspects of our lives and at the same time, give us an opportunity to solve problems. Undeniably, organisations are present all around us and "play a leading role in our modern world" (Scott and Davis, 2013, p1) because they "[perform] virtually every task a society needs in order to function (ibid, p2). Organisations can, therefore, be further described as entities that are formed with the aim of achieving a common goal that is usually supported by a vision about how the organisation should work and a mission that states the main reason for the organisation's existence.

Although organisations influence their environment significantly, they in turn are dependent on and affected by that environment (Scott and Davis, 2013). It is for this reason that organisations have been conceptualised as "open systems" (ibid). Not only their surrounding environment but also other organisations influence them. Therefore, organisations "are not 'things' but social constructions, contested, challenged, and constantly recreated through talk and action" (Gabriel, 2008, p123). This brings us to a more recent aspect of organisational studies, that of storytelling organisations and the use of language and discourse for different aims in and by organisations. As a result, organisations can no longer be "viewed as objective realities independent of the discourses that construct them and negotiate them" (ibid, p157). Why do organisations create and convey stories instead of using other artefacts such as reports, charts, and other modern tools and outputs? One of the main reasons could be that "storytelling is a vivid, memorable way to pass on an organisation's history, values and vision" (Kaye and Jacobson, 1999, p1) and, therefore, stories are powerful tools to share knowledge with different people. For example, leaders can tell stories to understand a particular situation the organisation is going through or employees might share stories to create bonds among themselves or with the rest of the organisation, and more importantly to share knowledge. These stories can be about daily tasks and situations, or the organisational or personal past. In fact, organisations use storytelling as a means to make sense of the past and create a meaning that would be understood by everyone. What is more "the impact of stories can be powerful [since] when [organisations] tell stories about [them] to others, they know [organisations] not only by those stories, but 'as' those stories" (Barry and Parry, 2013, p32).

Stories become a "form of communication and of sensemaking [as organisations] tell stories not only to entertain and inform, but also to explain and make sense of the world around [them]" (Kociatkiewicz and Kostera, 2001, p24). Therefore, "what is necessary [for] sensemaking is a good story" (Weick, 1995, p60) that can also work for both the listener and the teller as a problem solving tool or a guide to understand a situation, "like a workable cause map" (ibid, p61). However, when there are many different details, events, and in fact stories it is important to create a common one that will make sense of all these events by placing them into a single story. This is done with the aid of " 'interpretative templates', [which] refer to the schematic plots that can be used for weaving disparate events in a meaningful whole that are then projected into the future, with a hope that they will hold" (Czarniawska, 2004, p33). Understanding past and current events through the use of stories is also part of the organising that organisations do for themselves and other stakeholders with the ultimate aim of making sense of situations or "structu[ring] the unknown" (Weick, 1995, p4). After all, "narrative [is] the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p1).

Bearing this in mind, it is important to understand that organisations organise and make sense of not only those past events that happened within the organisation but also the society they are in. They "construct, filter, frame, create facticity, and render the subjective into something more tangible" and understandable (Weick, 1995, p13). Organisations are therefore capable of organising historical memory in a meaningful way through the use of stories. Why is it important for organisations to understand and organise the past? For any organisation, being aware of its history is crucial in order to thrive and understand its present and its future, and to construct its own organisational identity (Czarniawska, 1997). In the same way, humans need to understand their history. Individuals have made sense of their lives through stories since ancient times (Fisher, 1985) and gained an understanding of their history and surroundings as a result (Pellowski, 1977). Irrespective of these broader aims, organisations can transmit stories in different ways (e.g., using different tones, characters or tension points) and through different storytellers (e.g., managers, employees, and tour guides in a tourism context). These stories are supported and made more powerful by placing them in an overall narrative. These different ways of story transmission can be considered as diverse "modes of visual speech, such as

décor, architecture […] that are pluralistic modes of story expression" (Fineman, 2000, p25).

Essentially, what organisations are organising via storytelling and narratives is memory, either their own organisational memory or the memory of the society in which they exist. As stated by Aguilar (2008), there are three types of historical memories: *individual memories* that belong to the witnesses of events; *institutional or official memories* that are constructed through the use of institutional and political power and become the 'official stories'; and the *collective or social memory* that are constructed by those that belong to a group or society and through the combination of past stories, individual memories, and the knowledge cumulated over time. It is, according to Aguilar (2008) collective and social memories that have the power to compete with institutional or official memories. Rowlinson *et a.l* (2010) explored the idea of organisational memory. This refers mainly to how corporations make use of their own past and the society's past to create a story about themselves "in a variety of ways, one of which is through sites of memory, such as visitor attractions offering 'brand experiences'" (p80). Rowlinson *et al.* (2010) also briefly mentioned Disney as an example of such experiences but clarified that "Disney does not insert its own corporate past into its representation of the […] past" (ibid).

Regardless of what past or type of memory the organisations are dealing with, they all have to be careful about not only the way they make use and convey memory but also with whom they choose to share this memory and what is 'silenced'. As Nissley and Casey (2002, cited in Rowlinson *et al.;* 2010) argued, what organisations chose to remember and forget could shape both their image and identity in society. Nevertheless, their work focused solely on corporate museums, and the role of stories was not explored. Thus, one of the aims of this study is to find out how organisations choose to tell particular stories at dark tourism sites and how these become constitutive parts of the organisational image, identity and culture. As part of organisational culture, stories also reflect more abstract aspects of this culture such as frames, interpretative templates, scripts for action, and ideologies (Weick, 1995). For instance, some dark tourism organisations might choose to remain silent about certain aspects of their own past and the society's history, and avoid telling certain stories in order to maintain a certain image and a certain type of visitor coming to their sites.

By storytelling, organisations engage with diverse stakeholders such as employees, other organisations, consumers and the media. Via storytelling, organisations not only communicate but also emotionally connect with stakeholders. This emotional link with stakeholders are expected to encourage "action or desired behaviour" on their part (Watchman and Johnson, 2009, p4). For many organisations, the desired action might be consumers' purchasing a specific product or employees' holding a certain attitude at work. More importantly, organisations need to create these emotional connections as "most organisations depend ultimately for their success on the emotional image of the service they provide… [because it is] emotions [that] are being sold" (Fineman, 2001, p7-8). This type of emotional relationship with different stakeholders also "supports and enhances [organisations' own] story" (Watchman and Johnson, 2009, p5). Accordingly, what organisations choose to tell and keep silent is closely associated with what type of emotions organisations are trying to convey to their stakeholders, as well as what type of image they want to create among their stakeholders.

Tarlow (1999) implied that any organisation involved with interpreting and commemorating the past should be careful with what they represent at different sites such as cemeteries, memorials and monuments. This is because "it is not fair to the people of the past, of whom [organisations] speak, and whom [organisations] represent, to ignore or devalue what was necessarily central to their practices" (p31). Tarlow (1999) pointed to the necessity of considering different emotions that can be potentially evoked at particular places of memory. She argued that despite this being a crucial aspect, there "remains considerable resistance to the study of emotion and experience in the academic world" (ibid, p31). With this in mind, one of the aims of this study is to explore the storytelling and narratives within dark tourism sites and whether these are associated with an aim of inducing particular emotions, ranging from happiness and joy to sadness and shock. The following sections discuss the topic of dark tourism in detail and provide an overview of the relevant literature.

Dark tourism

"Dark tourism has provided a language [….] a narrative for the consumption of death" (Stone, 2011, n.p)

Fascination with death, disasters and the macabre is not new to our time; thus, dark tourism is not a newfound activity. Almost since there was civilisation, people

have travelled to places where killings, wars or even natural disasters had happened (Stone, 2008; Strange and Kempa, 2003). However, it has been in recent decades that the interest in the macabre and the paranormal has increased the most. Robb (2009) acknowledged this and stated that "in recent years places associated with human misery and death have become the focus of sizable touristic interest" (p51). This observation can also be found in Lennon and Foley (2000) in which they noted that "tourists interest in recent death, disaster and atrocity is a growing phenomenon in the late twentieth and early twenty–first centuries and that theories have both noticed and attempted to understand it" (p3). Hartmann (2009) argued that "in recent years, the theme of tourism to places with a difficult past has become an increasingly popular topic for scholars and consultants…" and more importantly "…at least four new concepts […] emerged: dissonant heritage, thanatourism, dark tourism and Holocaust tourism" (p1). In this study, dark tourism refers to "the visitation to any site associated with death, disaster and tragedy […] for remembrance, education or entertainment" (Foley and Lennon 1997, p155). Dark tourism as a research subject originates, mainly from the broader museology, thanatology and sociology disciplines (Stone, 2011). At first, the fact that "tourism could be linked to death caused a mild shock to academics and lay people alike" (Seaton, 2009, p522), as people wondered "how could the 'have a nice-day-industry' be implicated in such an apparently macabre theatre of behaviour?" (ibid). Despite the initial 'shock', dark tourism as a research area has grown in recent times and it is now considered a legitimate area of study within the wider tourism studies area, providing "an academic lens in which to peer at various socio-cultural, political, historical and moral quandaries" (Stone, 2011, n.p).

Before Foley and Lennon (1996) came up with the name dark tourism, Rojek (1993) already talked about touristic places with a "difficult past" or "black spots", while Seaton (1996) named it "thanatourism" and Blom (2000) "morbid". But, regardless of how it is named, and as Stone (2006 quoted in Merrill, 2009) put it, "dark tourism under any of its guises has an economic focus that investigates tourist visitation to sensitive sites, in terms of supply, with respect to dark tourism products, demand, in terms of consumer motivation and expectation" (p152). These early scholars not only labelled and defined dark tourism but also established a narrow theoretical background to start with. They opened the door to new studies, which

shall be reviewed in this chapter. What is more, thanks to these pioneering definitions and studies, the number of scholars studying this topic has proliferated and made dark tourism "a research brand in which scholars can locate a diverse range of death-related and tourist experience studies" (Stone, 2013, p307). Nevertheless, despite the fact that this type of tourism has been a reality for quite some time "dark tourism as a field of study is still very much in its infancy" (ibid). What is more, Stone (2006) stated that "despite […] increasing attention, the dark tourism literature remains both eclectic and theoretically fragile" (p145). Although Lennon and Foley (2000) offered a conceptual understanding of dark tourism and pioneering descriptive accounts of some of the main dark sites in the world, they failed to address some important aspects such as visitor motivations, and more importantly the specific issues that the organisations behind these sites might encounter when devising and creating visitors experiences. In this respect, this study aims to cast theoretical and empirical light onto another relatively neglected topic in dark tourism literature -namely, the use of storytelling and narratives in dark tourism sites from the perspective of how these sites are created, organised and managed by dark tourism organisations, and how storytelling and narratives are used for devising and delivering particular visitors' experiences.

Placing dark tourism within the wider range of tourist studies is not an easy task as it touches many different areas such as niche tourism (Novelli, 2005), special interest tourism, cultural tourism, educational tourism and heritage tourism. As stated before, Lennon and Foley (1996) came up with the concept and name of 'dark tourism' to create a new area of tourism studies. However, some scholars, such as Bowman and Pezzullo (2009) argued that dark tourism is just another form of heritage tourism and it should be studied as such because "'death, disaster and atrocity' are [all] part of our collective heritage" (p190). Walton (2009) agreed with this view and argued that history and heritage are crucial for "tourism studies, whether [viewed] as a field, a set of interests, or an emergent discipline, is no exception: it needs a sense of historical awareness, not least to inform ways in which tourism itself tried to use history, through the marking, marketing and exploitations of traces, stories, heritage, authenticity, and ultimately distinctiveness" (p115). Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a difference between heritage tourism and dark tourism mainly in that dark tourism refers solely to places that are related to death

and/or the macabre, while heritage tourism refers to activities, which are "based on a country's historical or cultural background" (Bateman *et al.;* 2006, p147), but not necessarily related to death. Furthermore, dark tourism is different from other types of tourism in that "individuals may seek a thrill or shock from the experience" (Bristow and Newman, 2004, p215). Arguably, it might be the possibility of being thrilled that is the main motivator for visiting dark tourism sites. The term 'dark' and the taxonomy of dark tourism sites, as well as the concept of dissonant heritage are discussed in the following section.

Dark and Darker

> *"If the emergence of dark tourism tells us anything, it's that some of humanity's greatest tragedies can be reduced to a successful marketing campaign" (Drago, 2009, p39)*

The controversy surrounding dark tourism not only refers to the possible ethical issues such activity poses but also to using the tag 'dark' to name it. Stone and Sharpley (2008) posed the question whether "it is actually possible and justifiable to categorize collectively the experience of sites or attractions that are associated with death or suffering as 'dark tourism'" (p575). Bownman and Pezzullo (2009) further questioned the label 'dark' in their article "What's so 'dark' about 'dark tourism'?" and argued that this tag has both "scholarly and political assumptions" (p187) that should be taken into consideration by both academics and practitioners. They added that 'dark' has negative connotations, mostly in the Western world, as it alludes to "the 'dark deeds' (e.g. genocide, assassination, murder, wear) that animate such sites and the 'dark mood' or morose tones such events might invite" (p188). Furthermore, Bownman and Pezzullo (2009) argued "by labelling certain tourists or tourist sites as 'dark', an implicit claim is made that there is something disturbing, troubling, suspicious, weird, morbid, or perverse about them, but what exactly that may be remains elusive and ill-defined" (p190). Nevertheless, a possible justification for the label 'dark' was provided by Stone (2011; 2013; 2014) as he argued that the term was, in fact, a result of 'branding' to make the topic more attractive within the media and academia and, despite it being related to death and the macabre, it should not be thought of as necessarily having any negative connotations. Nevertheless, Stone (2011) advised researchers to explain in their studies what is meant by dark tourism

and how each dark site would benefit from the research in order to avoid any misunderstandings or issues with the terminology.

Moving on to the different types of dark tourism sites, Stone and Sharpley (2008) argued that dark tourism attractions could be differentiated between those that are "purposefully constructed attractions" and those that become attractions "by accident" (p577). The first type of site refers to those that have been purposely devised and delivered as a dark site. For example, the London Dungeon created an attraction based on real London gory events such as the story of Jack the Ripper but using an artificial theatrical setting (LondonDungeon, 2013). The second type refers to sites such as battlefields that have become an attraction 'unintentionally' after a particular event happened there, for example the ruins of Old Belchite in Spain after the end of the Spanish Civil War. Bearing in mind the "difficulty in attaching an all-embracing label to the enormous diversity of dark sites, attractions and experiences" (Stone and Sharpley, 2008, p578), several authors came up with different levels or shades of darkness in order to justify why the term dark tourism could embrace any activity related to death, ranging from a ghost tour around London or Edinburgh to a visit to the killing fields of Cambodia. Miles (2002) distinguished between "sites associated with death" from those that are "sites of death" and explains that *experiencing* the Holocaust in Auschwitz is 'darker' than visiting a Holocaust memorial in another country as the former will be a more empathetic travel. On the other hand, Cohen (2011) argued that making a distinction between the "actual sites of disaster […] or primary sites" and "created sites" such as memorial museum is "too simplistic to accurately describe the authenticity of dark tourism experiences" (p193). He therefore proposed the "new term *in populo* to describe sites which embody and emphasize the story of the people to whom the tragedy befell" (p194) regardless of their location.

Furthermore, Sharpley and Stone (2009) contended that the reason why very diverse sites and experiences could be all considered part of dark tourism (e.g., from a ghost tour to visiting a battlefield) is because they share a common factor, which is "an association, in one form or another […] to death, disaster or suffering" (p10). However, these categorisations have been criticised by scholars such as Parry (2009) because they believed that dark tourism literature failed to come up with a

theoretically grounded typology of dark tourism sites. Parry (2009) questioned whether it would be possible to have what he called a "hierarchy of tragedy" (e.g., are some tragedies more important than others?) as well as whether it would be even feasible to have a "formal ordering of dark tourism sites and of their visitors' motivations, when the story behind each site is unique and distinctive" (p5). Stone (2006) affirmed that it is indeed possible to have a categorisation of dark tourism sites and created a dark tourism spectrum from lightest to darkest dark tourism sites. This categorisation has been represented in the following figure (Figure 2):

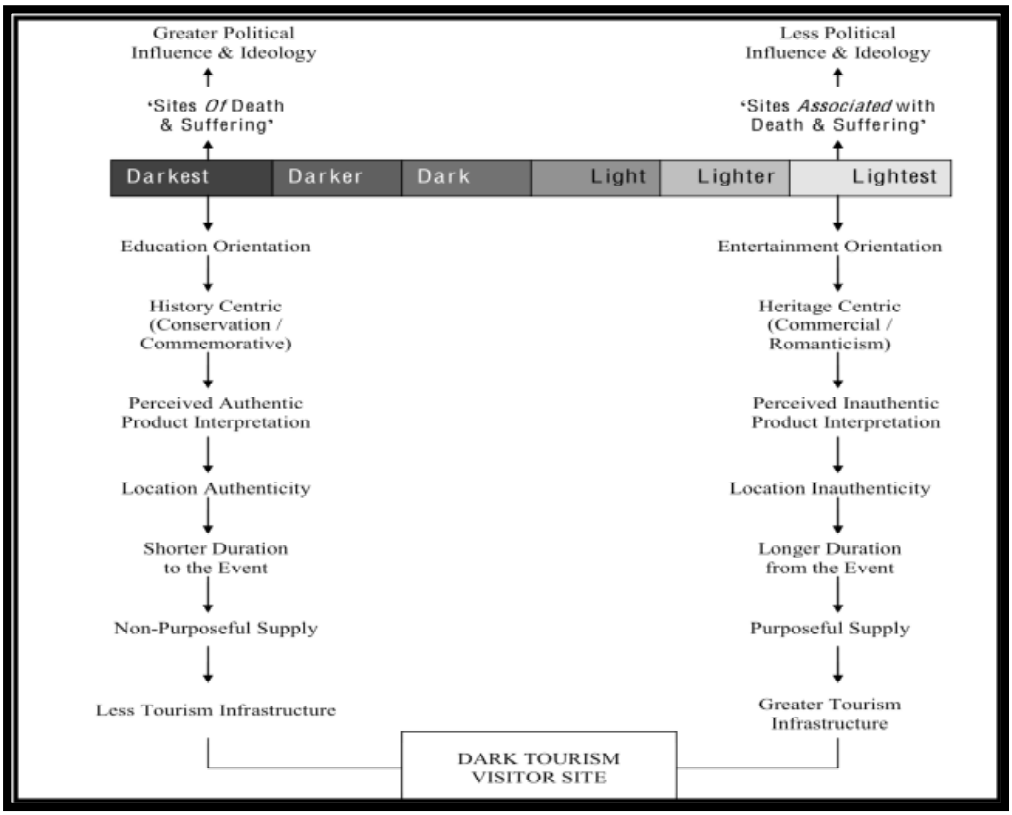


Figure 2. Stone's Dark Tourism Spectrum
(Source: Stone 2010, p53 revised from Stone 2006)

At the *lightest* end of the spectrum are what Stone (2006) named "dark fun factories" (p152) that refer to places, such as the London Dungeon, which are considered less authentic and have mainly a commercial interest. On the other hand and at the other end of the spectrum are the *darkest* sites, namely "dark conflict sites" (p156) such as a Holocaust exhibition that has mainly an educational purpose. This study finds this classification useful in its exploration of storytelling and narratives

found in different types of dark tourism sites. Accordingly, the specific case studies chosen for the study contain features that put them in darker or lighter end of the spectrum. These are discussed later in the methodology section. In addition to its usefulness in categorising dark tourism sites and listing some aspects related to organisational aims, the model also hints at certain narrative outcomes in dark sites according to their place in the spectrum; for example, lighter site and "perceived inauthentic product interpretation" as well as "less political influence & ideology", presumably on visitors and society. Nevertheless, the model does not provide insights into how storytelling and narratives actually take place as a process and how they are affected by the broader social and historical context where they are found. Taking inspiration from Stone's (2006) *Dark Tourism Spectrum* as a useful model for understanding organisational aims and interpretative outcomes in dark tourism, this study therefore seeks to create a model that is based on the literature review and the research findings. The model aims to identify and explain the different dimensions and elements of organising and storytelling at dark tourism sites, in relation to how they generate an overall narrative experience for their visitors.

Irrespective of where dark tourism sites fall in the dark tourism spectrum, Stone and Sharpley (2008) placed dark tourism consumption/experience in a thanatological perspective and argued that people visit dark tourism sites in order to see and confront death from a safe distance that will allow them to reflect upon their own mortality. Dark tourism sites through "sensitizing and sanitizing death [allow] individuals to view their own death as a distant, unrelated product which they consume" (Stone and Sharpley, 2008, p587). Bearing this idea in mind, dark tourism organisations' role seems to go beyond entertaining and educating visitors and into a more psychologically and emotionally profound level by creating for example an experience in which visitors may question their own mortality and feel in particular ways about the stories told at dark tourism sites. These emotions include sad, happy, horrified, shocked, and inspired, among others. Dark tourism organisations can thus "potentially transform the seemingly meaningless into the meaningful through the commoditisation, explanations and representations of darkness" (Stone and Sharpley, 2008, p588). As shall be demonstrated in this thesis, it is mainly through storytelling and narratives that dark tourism organisations offer these explanations and representations to visitors in emotionally evocative ways.

Nonetheless, paramount to dark tourism interpretations are the possible issues with dissonant and subaltern dark heritage sites and how the storytelling and narrative approach can legitimise certain experiences and histories while others are purposefully left out or 'othered'. Smith (2006) explained that heritage could be " 'subaltern' in that they stand outside of the dominant discourse" (p35). What is more, he argued that "the past is valued and understood differently by different peoples, groups or communities and how that past is understood validates or not a sense of place" (Smith, 2006, p80). Smith (2006) went on to explain that because of this subaltern situation of certain heritage sites, certain groups or stakeholders of such sites can become agitated and ultimately demand more inclusion in the way the site and the storytelling approach are managed. In essence, these groups would be asking to have a voice to tell their own stories. Yet, once they are given that voice and their history is legitimised, a their voices and the heritage site they are linked to stops being 'subaltern'. Similarly, heritage sites are "inherently dissonant" (Hage, 2006, p291) because they represent "a constitutive social process that on the one hand is about regulating and legitimizing, and on the other hand is about contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities" (Smith, 2006, p82). These aspects of 'othering' voices within a dark tourism site and dissonant heritage are closely associated with the broader social and historical context in which dark tourism organisations operate. They are later explored in detail.

Despite the divisive nature of dealing with the past, "we continue to [become involved with it because it] offers a powerful, maybe even the most powerful, venue for establishing and affirming social belonging" (Hage, 2006, p291). Part of this process of social affirmation is the will from visitors to become aware and get a deeper understanding of the darker history of individual dark sites (Dann, 1998). Naturally, "all heritage [can be] uncomfortable to some [as it] has a particular power to legitimize – or not- someone's sense of place and thus their social and cultural experiences and memories [of particular dark events] (Smith, 2006, p81). It is the aforementioned visitor desire to become knowledgeable regarding a particular gruesome historical event that dark tourism organisations use as a means to organise dark tourism sites and the storytelling approaches used within. Hall (1999) further argued that heritage should be considered as a "discursive practice [as] it is one of the ways in which [a] nation [or an organisation] slowly constructs for itself a sort of

collective social memory […] by selectively bringing their chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding 'national [or organisational] story" (p221). The fact that dark tourism organisations can create an organisational and/or national story brings in questions about power and politics involved in dark tourism sites and their influences on the dark tourism organisation's storytelling and narrative approaches. However, before exploring this aspect in detail, it is important to understand how storytelling and narratives work at dark tourism sites.

Storytelling, narratives and 'amnesia'

"Stories that are resonant with blood and death have a great salience" (Prusak, 2005, p32)

Storytelling organisations were described by Boje (1991) as "collective storytelling system[s] in which the performance of stories is a key part of members' sensemaking and a means to allow them to supplement individual memories with institutional memory" (quoted in Boje, 2007, p332). This view concurs with the previously discussed literature on organisational storytelling and narratives. The main proposition of this literature is that stories are used by organisations not just as a sensemaking tool but also to convey powerful messages to their members and other stakeholders about what the organisation stands for in the past and future. Bearing this in mind, organisations make use of stories for sensemaking in times of uncertainty (Weick, 1995); for the education and entertainment of its members and stakeholders; and for legitimising their organisational actions (Gabriel, 2000; Boje, 2001). Similarly, dark tourism organisations are expected to use stories to interpret a specific history they present, to convey it to their visitors as an experience, and to justify and defend their organisational actions vis-à-vis other actors. Therefore, storytelling and narratives and their story outcomes can be understood as tools by which meanings are created, presented, justified and/or contested within dark tourism organisation, and between them and stakeholders involved with the site and its history. Similar to other organisations, dark tourism organisations would also make use of stories to generate and transmit different emotions (Gabriel, 2008) that will ultimately become a core part of the visitor experience. The emotional aspect of the stories used by dark tourism organisations and the ethical issues this engenders will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

Stories have been described as “the soul of (tourism sites) which makes the tourist destination in this ever globalizing world differ from every other similar place” (Franjic, 2011, p3). Chronis (2005) concurred that stories are of upmost importance at tourism sites, mainly heritage sites, which he named “Storyscapes” where meanings are “co-constructed between marketers and consumers” (p386). But how are these meanings co-constructed at dark tourism sites? Storytelling and narratives are vehicles that allow meanings to be “‘created, negotiated and shared” (Mitroff and Kilman, 1976 quoted in Reissner, 2008, p5). This view is in line with the idea that interpretation and meanings are not only down to the providers/creators of stories but also open to interpretation by different groups, including visitors to dark tourism sites. This is particularly important for this study as one of the main aims is to explore to what extent and how different stakeholders influence the creation of the overall narrative and stories in dark tourism sites. In view of this, this study aims to contribute to the emergent organisational area of interest by looking at “how storytelling can be used more explicitly by practitioners” (Reissner, 2008, p4) at different organisations.

The unique aspect about conceptualizing dark tourism organisations as storytellers is that their storytelling and narrative product constitutes the essence of visitor experience. This product also carries certain emotions and meanings that can be generated through the use of narrative explanations. Like other storytelling acts and their narrative products, these explanations are achieved by sequencing events in a non-random manner according to their perceived effects on the outcome that follows. Consequently, narrative explanations are embedded within time and places as they explain how and why events took place. However, narratives are not mere explanations of events and actions. Both storytelling and narratives have the capacity to “pass moral judgments on events, casting their protagonists in roles like hero, villain, fool and victim” (Gabriel, 2008, p282). They, therefore, attribute blame, credit and responsibility to events and actions in their explanations of outcomes (Gabriel, 2000, p38).

Accordingly, like in all storytelling acts, dark tourism organisations create specific narratives in which “events are selected, organised, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience” (Riessman and Quinney, 2005, p1).

Narratives used at these sites can influence the way visitors commemorate and feel about a particular event in history. These narratives are therefore a major influence in how a specific site is experienced. As stated before, narratives can pass moral judgments. Consequently, dark tourism organisations may have certain political and social agenda that determines how they interpret the past and create the narratives that will be received by visitors. This agenda is not only down to each dark tourism organisation but is also open to influence by prevailing factors in the social and historical context. This means that organisations behind the management of dark tourism sites may have to carefully plan the ultimate narrative they want visitors to experience. Accordingly, in the process of creating an overall narrative, organisations may have to leave out or 'silence' stories that do not comply with what they are trying to convey. Therefore, narratives also generate meanings by silencing or ignoring other stories, events and actions as well as other types of explanations that meaningfully bring those neglected aspects into a coherent but different whole (Czarniawska, 2004; Gabriel, 2000). The fact that some aspects or stories can be 'silenced' by organisations can also provide insights about the organisation itself as well as the society in which it exists.

The above described process of forgetting or leaving something out on purpose by those responsible for official stories has been referred to in the dark tourism literature as a "wilful" (Rice, 2010, p14), or "chosen" amnesia (Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Moore, 2009). Similarly, Foote (1997) pointed out that, sometimes, particularly shameful or very tragic events may be "obliterated" (p24) by "actively effacing all [physical] evidence of a tragedy to cover it up or remove it from view", which might "stem from a desire to forget" (ibid, p25). Yet, choosing to forget or 'obliterate' is something not only organisations do. Whole societies may prefer to 'forget' certain tragic episodes in their history to be able to move on. For example, Buckley-Zistel (2006) successfully explored and documented how 'chosen amnesia' was a necessity in Rwanda after the Civil War and the events that followed, known as the Rwandan Genocide. The necessity of 'forgetting' in Rwanda came from an expectation that it would allow "people to avoid antagonism and enable a degree of community cohesion necessary for the intimacy of rural life in Rwanda" (Buckley-Zistel, 2006, p131). Similarly, Moore (2009) agreed with the previous view about the possible need for selective amnesia as "certain kinds of reconciliation become

impossible without […] amnesia, to the extent that amnesia is able to function in a similar way to forgiveness" (p17-18). He further suggested that this is mainly the case in places where the "offences which must be pardoned are so unpalatable that reconciliation is only possible through amnesia" (ibid). However, 'chosen amnesia' may have a negative impact on a society. For instance, going back to the conflict in Rwanda, Buckley-Zistel (2006) argued the Rwandan Genocide was partly explainable by another chosen amnesia in the Rwandan society- namely, the unchallenged ethnic and social beliefs and tensions, which ultimately fanned the tragic events.

Despite the possible issues it generates, Lowenthal (1998) argued that purposely 'forgetting' historical events and episodes is sometimes accepted as "the past is more admirable as a realm of faith than of fact" (p135). Lowenthal (1998) explained that the knowledge that something happened (for example the Spanish Civil War) is more important for some societies than knowing all the historical facts. What such a 'knowing' entails is that when someone mentions a tragic history, people are automatically aware of how tragic it was without knowing every detail. However, such 'a knowing by forgetting some or all the historical facts' might run the risk of engendering biases in people's perception of the tragic event in question. After all, having the power to purposefully 'forget' parts of the history means that oncoming narratives may be "full of voids, omissions, and disappearances [that] cannot form a continuous narrative without distortion" (Colmeiro, 2011, p31). Lowenthal (1998) agreed with this view and suggested that "heritage the world over not only tolerates, but thrives on and even requires historical error [and] falsified legacies" (p135).

Lowenthal (1998) nevertheless criticised visitors for not questioning the given 'truth' and being "credulous, undemanding, accustomed to heritage mystique and often laud the distortions, omissions and fabrications central to the heritage reconstruction" (p249). Radstone and Schwarz (2010) noted this process of being "cut-off form the past" and named it "social amnesia" (p1) and proposed that "the current fascination […] with memory is ineluctably associated with the idea of its absence" (ibid). Correspondingly, Hall (1999) pointed out that "the institutions responsible for making [the selection of memories] develop a deep investment in

their own 'truth'" (p5), which is likely to be somewhat distorted (Colmeiro, 2011). Given these arguments about amnesia in society, it would not be surprising to observe commercialisation of a dark tourism site in a way that does not provide all the details of the tragic events it is linked to. Dark tourism organisations' memory "is highly selective [and thus] it highlights, imposes beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent" (Hall, 1999, p5). What is more, in doings so, dark tourism organisations also "silence […] forgets and elides many episodes" (ibid) which may not fit with their idea of 'truth' ". In the process, subaltern voices might emerge from that silence and 'oppression' of certain episodes and 'truths'.

In view of the above discussion, this study explores which stories or facts are left out by dark tourism organisations and reasons for doing so because, as Boje (2007) explained, "the ways of telling and not telling are very telling" (p348) about organisations and their aims. Additionally, dark tourism organisations have to decide not only which characters are going to be presented in their stories but also which ones are conveyed as villains or victims. This can be particularly important in places such as the Holocaust Exhibition at the IWML where there is one clear villain, the Nazis and the organisation therefore may not want visitors see it any other way. Doing otherwise would clash with the pre-visit views of almost all visitors. However, in other dark sites, for example The Valley of the Fallen in Madrid, creating a single narrative with specific villains and victims might prove to be quite problematic if they were to consider all the stakeholders such as surviving relatives of victims, since thousands of fallen fighters from both sides of the Spanish Civil War are buried in this site and each side seems to have their own villains and victims, not to mention the complicated and complex history of the Spanish Civil War (Beevor, 2006). Therefore, dark tourism organisations may have to pay particular attention to various different ways the past is interpreted. Taking into account all sides of the story is important because, as Boje (2007) put it, "storytelling is a collective process, tellings by many tellers" (p347). Nevertheless, Frew (2012) warned that histories and stories associated with dark tourism sites, particularly if they are related to an event within living memory or in recent past "need to be sensitively interpreted to ensure that tourists demonstrate respect for the victims and avoid glorifying the perpetrators of the crime" (Frew, 2012, p35). The following paragraphs explore the issues of

interpretation around dark tourism sites and organisations in further detail with a focus on storytelling and narratives.

Interpretation at dark tourism sites

As hinted before, almost every organisation deals with stories in one way or another and for different purposes. At the essence of this organisational storytelling is generating an interpretation of events and actions observed, experienced or having to deal with. In the case of dark tourism organisations, making the right interpretation is of upmost importance, not only for possible ethical and moral issues but also to create the right product for visitors. As discussed before, in the dark tourism literature storytelling and narratives have not been meaningfully studied in their own right. Nevertheless, there have been a few studies as important treatments of dark tourism and dark tourism sites in relation to the role of interpretation. To begin with, Lennon and Foyle (2000) highlighted the difficulty of being objective for historians and interpreters when writing the stories of dark sites. Another related difficulty they noted is deciding on "whose history" prevails in interpretation" (p162). Lennon and Foyle (2000) conjectured that tourism site managers might go for a more commercialised version of past events in order to create a more entertaining activity while a historian might go for a more precise and exact account. With this conjecture, Lennon and Foyle (2000) called for more research in order to "explore where the role for the historian ends and that of the tourist site manager begins in the interpretation of alternative, recent past" (p163). Despite questioning 'whose history' prevails at dark tourism sites, Lennon and Foyle (2000) made no mention as to what functions storytelling and narratives by dark organisations and stakeholders play at such sites.

Similarly, Wight (2006) argued that interpretations "can belie the actual events that took place [in a dark site to] maximise audience engagement" (p123). Related to this motivation and the ethical issue it brings forward, Strange and Kempa (2003) brought up the issue of authenticity and morality of the interpretation in dark sites. They observed that some heritage commentators such as Hewison (1987), MacCannell (1992), Urry (1995) and Walsh (1992) "have denounced this type of tourism as an inappropriate and even immoral vehicle for the presentation of human suffering" (Strange and Kempa 2003, p386). On the other hand, Tarlow (2005) referred to dark tourism as a product, and argued that, as such it should be

consumable and able to contribute to the economy in order to become an attraction. Despite this, Tarlow (2005) stated that managers should be careful in the way they present history as it might affect "the type of dark tourism" as well as "the type of person the attraction may bring" (p56). However, it is fair to say that Tarlow's concerns sound more practical than ethical. In this line, it is important to understand how different dark tourism sites interpret the past and how they aim to keep this interpretation morally acceptable for all stakeholders.

Taking into account the description of "historical and social interpretations" by Brisbane and Wood (1996), it can be argued that dark tourism organisations make both types of interpretations. Brisbane and Wood (1996) described "historical interpretation" (p35) as that which concentrates on the past and focuses "on people and events: the role of individuals in making things happen" (ibid). Social interpretation on the other hand was described as an explanation of the connection between "people, places and objects" and their role in society" (ibid). This type of double interpretation of past events, people and places is a challenge for dark tourism organisations for several reasons:

- Choosing the appropriate style of language. "Being able to define the audience so that interpretation is matched […] to their needs" and striking a balance between interpretation and organisational objectives (Brisbane and Wood, 1996, p27)
- Ethical dilemmas in terms of what is acceptable for a tourist 'experience' at dark tourism sites (Lennon and Foley, 2000, p10)
- Risk of sanitising the real events for the tourists (Uzzell, 1989), thus possibly decreasing the real suffering and horror of the people involved.
- The presentation of the context as this will determine "not only the type of dark tourism but also the type of person the attraction may bring" (Tarlow 2005, p56)

The preceding authors identified some of the problems dark tourism organisations might face while interpreting the past, and how organisations might achieve this interpretation. However, these studies did not deal with this interpretive aspect in detail, especially in relation to storytelling and narrative dynamics. Comparatively,

more recent studies do seem to look at interpretation issues from a broader perspective. For instance, Walter (2009) argued that organisations "mediate for us the past" (p41) through the use of storytelling and narratives while Stone (2012) claimed that this mediation is, in fact, a "potential social filter between life and death" (p1565). The role of the dark tourism organisation is therefore conceptualised to be fundamental not only for that mediation activity but also for the overall visitor experience and set of narratives visitors are presented with. Although stories created for and circulated in dark tourism sites have been identified in the literature as one of the key aspects for dark tourism sites' experiences, Seaton (2009) also highlighted several interest groups with their respective stories about specific sites and how these may come to have a bearing on final narrative outcome and/or success of dark tourism sites. Consequently, it is more accurate to see the process of creation and managing dark tourism sites as dynamic and open to the influence of different storytelling groups and organisations (Boje, 2001), which might have diverse understandings of the same history/event/site (Reissner, 2008).

In light of the above, this study attempts to go beyond the seemingly normative ethics and management debate, and the concomitant opposition of 'accurate' and 'commercialised' interpretation, all of which seemed to have informed earlier studies on authenticity and other aspects in dark tourism. It aims to do so by bringing in the existing literature on organisational storytelling to the study of dark tourism and by specifically exploring the central role of narratives and storytelling in the creation and sustaining of dark sites as places of commemoration, education, and entertainment. Alongside these considerations, the study also explores the managerial issues, such as site preservation, and displays and layouts, in order to reveal their effects on narrative outcomes. Additionally, further questions can be raised regarding the emotional aspect of this type of tourism and how dark tourism organisations try to engage the visitor with certain emotions during and after their visits.

Stakeholders, 'Othering' and politics

Dark tourism is and has been a very controversial activity. Consequently it is only natural that it engenders strong emotions and poses all sorts of ethical issues. As hinted above, the ethical issues surrounding dark tourism sites range from the authenticity of the stories told and the interpretation of facts to the commoditisation

of tragedy, death and disaster (Foley and Lennon, 1997, p153). Nevertheless, as explained here, these ethical issues are closely associated with emotions that characterize visitors' dark tourism experiences. While these are discussed in more detail in the next section, this section makes a brief introduction to emotions and ethical issues to explore another important aspect –namely, stakeholder relationships and politics.

To begin with, when people visit a dark tourism site they know that there is a possibility that they might be disturbed, distressed or even frightened by some of the stories told, the artefacts on display or any other narrativised artefacts (e.g., dim lighting and fictional gory props). However, it is the anticipation and then perhaps the realisation of these feelings that makes this arguably odd experience possible and perhaps even more enjoyable. Therefore, it can be argued that the success of dark tourism organisations and in fact of "most organisations depend ultimately […] on the emotional image of the service they provide" (Fineman, 2001, p7). Essentially, every dark tourism organisation use narratives and storytelling to create an expectation for the probability of experiencing different feelings during the visit such as sadness, eeriness, and enjoyment. Nevertheless, not everything the visitors experience at a dark site is entertainment since most dark tourism sites would claim that they also have an educational side (Garcia, 2012). Including an "educational dimension" to dark tourism experiences "may help distinguish meaningful dark tourism experiences from recreational or voyeuristic ones" (Cohen, 2011, p196). This educational aspect, which is discussed in detail under 'edutainment' in the following section, may even justify the visit to dark tourism sites.

In spite of this educational aim, the use of humour at some dark tourism sites, mainly during guided tours, may give the idea to visitors that the stories, although real, should not be taken seriously or in a sombre manner (Garcia, 2012). After all, many people visiting such sites are looking for an entertaining experience. As Thompson (2010) put it, humour is "the basis for the entertainment aspect of the tour" (p81) and thus part of dark tourism sites' main appeal. In fact, humour has been used by different organisations beyond the dark tourism field to transform their official stories and make them more appealing to different audiences (e.g., Nike in Boje *et al.;* 2005). Coming back to humour in dark tourism sites, one example is the

Tower of London. When describing Yeoman Warders, they refer to them as "iconic, enduring, entertaining; just don't call them 'Beefeaters!'" (Historic Royal Palaces Tower of London, 2012b). The use of humour in this case has the purpose of creating an expectation of fun and excitement in visitors before they visit the Tower and engage with one of their Warders as their official tour guide.

Emotions, including joy induced by humorous storytelling and narratives, constitute an important part of what organisations offer to their stakeholders, including consumers. For example, Boje (1998) argued that Disney 'sells' emotions to consumers who in turn want to buy them. Disney for instance sells the idea that when visiting Disneyland both adults and children can "expect their fantasies to come true and experience thrilling, memorable sensations" (Gabriel, 2008, p81). Similarly, Van Maanen (1991) stated that Disney's main product is in fact emotions, particularly "laughter and well-being" (p58) and that it is through selling and promoting these that Disney is such a successful business. More generally, Gabriel (1999) identified three types of story constructed and told in and by organisations in terms of the different emotions and possibly products/experiences they generate. These are: Epic stories, which "generate prize and enthusiasm [by focusing] on the achievements of heroes"; Comic stories, which generate "amusement and mirth" (p199); Tragic stories, which focus on "undeserved misfortune and suffering and generate feelings of compassion and fear"; and lastly Romantic stories, which refer mainly to love and are "associated with feelings of affection but also nostalgia or self-pity" (p200). All of these types of stories can be expected to be present at dark tourism sites in one form or another.

Nonetheless, organisations are aware that their stories can be contested and even changed by different groups or audiences (Boje *et al.;* 1999). Therefore, different stakeholders with their own interpretation of past events will have an impact on what is told and what is not at dark tourism sites. Pickard (2007) argued that this is "why dark tourism is a contentious issue: [because] people interpret the same site in different ways" (p127). Similarly, Fineman (2000) explained that history is something that is shaped by many different groups because each of them will have different memories that will shape the way they feel about a certain event. This study therefore aims to explore to what extent different stakeholders influence the creation

of stories by dark tourism organisations and how they might influence the way these organisations deliver dark tourism experiences.

Moreover, Seaton (2001) referred to the organisations managing heritage sites as owners or controllers and those that make the ultimate decisions about how to develop different sites and tourist experiences within. This is however not achieved before being influenced by the other forces, which are not mutually exclusive, as seen in figure 3. These forces are the subject groups, which refer to those people whom the stories are about; the host community; and the visitors to the sites. However, in some dark tourism sites, the host community is the same as the subject group, and they could be therefore counted as one force, instead of two as shown in the diagram. For instance, in Spain most dark tourism sites are located within the local community where events happened, and, therefore, the locals will be both the subject group and the host community.

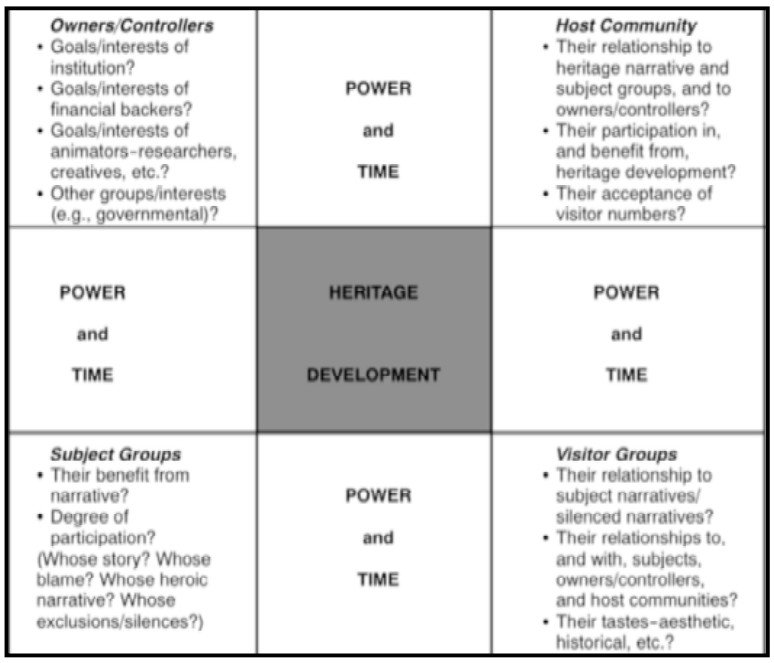


Figure 3. Heritage Force Field
(Source: Seaton, 2001, p123)

At the same time, Seaton's figure is a good visual example of the ways in which heritage sites and the stories (not) told within, and the storytelling approach can be contested and influenced by different forces, not just tourism providers, and local communities potentially exploited by those providers. As Seaton (2001) put it, "it is easy to produce a […] view of heritage that conceives it as structured by, on the

one hand, wicked tourism exploiters, enforcing suppression or distortion, and contested on the other by dominated or excluded minority victims" (p126). Irrespective of the multiple actors and forces involved in the dark tourism site, the stakeholder relationships and the heritage force field point to ethical questions about the possible authenticity of the site and therefore the overall experience. This is closely related to the consumption aspect of dark tourism because "places are branded and becoming objects of consumption, both symbolically as objects for hungry tourists and concretely as they are reconstructed as consumption sites." (Knudsen and Waade, 2010, p6). Nevertheless, Knudsen and Waade (2010) put forward the idea that authenticity does not have to come from the site or even the artefacts on display, "but rather something experienced through the body, through the performance, management and media, authenticity becomes a feeling you can achieve" (p5). This closely relates to what Cohen (2010) referred to with the term *in populo*, which describes sites that capture the essence of tragic history that people suffered, regardless of the sites' location.

Irrespective of the potentially different sources of authenticity in dark tourism sites, Seaton's figure is important in reminding the importance of time alongside power in the determination of outcomes in the heritage force field. Although the exact influence of time is not clear in the diagram, one can argue that a very tragic but distant past event would not be treated in the same way as very recent tragic event of similar nature and magnitude. As discussed before, Lennon and Foley (2000) explored the possible contestations that narratives and interpretations at dark tourism sites might experience by different stakeholders. However, Lennon and Foley's (2000) focus was on narratives and interpretations that pertained to recent historical events. Such as focus leaves aside dark sites that deal with history that is in a very distant past. One example of such a site is the Tower of London, which is explored as one of the case studies in this study.

Related to one of the four groups in Seaton's figure, Mowat and Chancellor (2011) explored the importance of "the interactions and interpretations of tourists with [dark] sites, and their management" (p1410) in the context of dark tourism sites related to slavery in the west coast of Africa. Mowat and Chancellor (2011) demonstrate how visitors through these interactions, became the co-constructors of the overall narrative (experience) in these sites. The idea that visitors or other

stakeholders can co-create organisational stories was also discussed by Boje (1991) as he argued that individual stories mix with that of the organisation because "as listeners, [audience] are co-producers with the teller of the story performance" and use their own personal experiences to "fill in the blanks and gaps between lines" (p107). This is something dark tourism organisations cannot control. Yet, it is something they might take into account when devising their stories and deciding their storytelling techniques to avoid or encourage this co-creation or interpretation. This study therefore aims to explore to what extent dark tourism organisations are aware of this 'visitor interpretations' eventuality and whether they take this it into account when devising experiences at dark tourism sites. Such awareness and measures taken by dark tourism organisations accordingly can have "an important role in the negotiation of meaning and co-production in a storytelling episode" (Boje, 1991, p107). In this exploration, the study will also draw on my personal experiences as a visitor to the selected sites to complement the information and insights given by researched organisations.

Seaton's heritage force field figure hints at the strong need to take different stakeholders into account when devising and conveying stories at dark tourism sites. Nevertheless, some dark tourism organisations might knowingly (or not) leave some groups/voices aside from the official narrative. Dark tourism organisations might do this because of political, organisational or ideological reasons. Seaton (2009) actually studied this phenomenon of leaving some stakeholders or voices on the sidelines of the management of dark tourism sites. He named this organisations outcome as "purposeful otherness" (p75). Seaton (2009) viewed this type of 'othering' as negative and expressed that "othering is a process orchestrated by the powerful with malign effects on subordinate groups who are effectively its victims" (p78). He further argued that the othered group is generally trapped by both the management and the visitors in "misperceptions and representations that deny their […] voice" (ibid).

'Othered' stakeholders can be defined as those stakeholders or groups that are left out of the official and accepted discourses and processes that constitute dark tourism sites. Othered groups can actually be known by the public and occasionally make their presence known (Winter, 2010). Nevertheless, their voices are generally drowned by other more powerful voices, and thus left out of the overall narrative

(experience). Wearing and Darcy (2011) argued that it is generally the host community that is 'othered' from the narrative by organisations in charge, which results in a biased narrative experience at any tourism site. Wearing and Darcy (2011) also warned that not taking into account host communities would have a damaging effect for the sustainability of tourism in any destination This is because just as "stories can be instruments of oppression and mystification [they can also be] instruments of contestation and rebellion" (Barry and Parry, 2013, p34). Any story or discourse, no matter how powerful or official, can therefore be contested by another story or discourse. In this respect, stories and storytelling can also give power to marginalised or 'othered' voices to "promote a narrative that supports their interests [and also] challenge the dominance the [official] narrative]" (ibid, p36) as well as the tourism product that is underpinned by such othering and exclusion.

Having dominance over a particular discourse at dark tourism sites may pose ethical questions. For example, is it right to use a tragic past as a tourist attraction? Arguably more related to Seaton's heritage force field is the following question: Is it ethical to exert power and control over other discourses and their owner groups that perhaps do not have the resources or the platform to reach as many people as dark tourism sites do? Dark tourism organisations that convey a dominant narrative can dictate, or at least promote, what they believe to be the truth. They could embellish stories by giving them a particular meaning (Gabriel, 1995) in accordance with their aims and goals. This brings further questions about the historical authenticity of the stories told and whether modifying the story or embellishing it in any way to promote a certain narrative and its underlying political ideology is ethical.

Hall (1999) argued that nations construct a particular identity by "bringing their chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding 'national story'" (p221). This process of identity creation and maintenance can be seen as a constituting part of power in Seaton's heritage force field. It can be expected to influence the way in which dark tourism sites are constructed and managed. According to Radstone and Schwartz (2010, p2-3), "we are witnessing an unprecedented politization of memory [to the point that there is an] imbrication of memory with political imperatives….[and] the relations between the practices of memory and the practices of politics are compacted and difficult to unravel"(ibid). Understanding the way memory is affected and used by contemporary politics and

ideologies is also important because "how we attend the past through the medium of the built environment has political implications for our future" (Farrar, 2011, p723) and for the future of tourism sites, including dark ones.

What is more, according to Smith (2006), control over memory and heritage can "have real personal and cultural meaning for those associated or engaged with [that particular heritage]" (p296). At the same time, those organisers or controllers of memory may have a "political imperative to assign guilt and innocence" (McDowell and Braniff, 2014, p18) and, therefore, have a possible underlying political agenda which can influence the way they organise and convey memory. More broadly, as Smith (2006) indicated, control over memory and heritage is crucial "because of the political and cultural power [it generates] to represent and validate a sense of place, memory and identity" (p296). This implies that dark tourism sites can be open to contentions of power and control regarding which senses of place, memory and identity would prevail in them (Asworth and Hartmann, 2005).

At the other extreme, "without [organisation of remembrance] sites of memory [could] vanish into thin air and stay there" (Winter, 2010, p315) because no one would visit them, talk about them or be interested in remembering the events that happened there. In line with the above discussion on the power related aspects of 'heritage force field' (Seaton, 2001), this study aims to explore how the historical and social contexts of the dark tourism organisations and the relations among various stakeholders affect the way storytelling and narratives are generated and managed at the selected cases.

Emotions, authenticity and ethical concerns

> *"It is the very intensity of human emotion evoked by the memory of atrocity that renders it so effective as an instrument in the pursuit of various political or social goals"(Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005, p4)*

As explained in previous sections, all stories are emotionally charged (Gabriel, 1995) and dark tourism organisations have the power and means to promote an emotional response on visitors that at the same time would further help fulfil their ultimate organisational goals. But, is this an ethical thing to do? For instance, Daams (2007), despite understanding dark tourism as unethical because of authenticity issues and visitor 'voyeurism' of 'human suffering, still sees an educational potential in dark tourism sites through which visitors might understand

the world we live in as well as our past. Similarly, Lennon (2005) argues that "dark tourism sites are important testaments of the consistent failure of humanity to temper our worst excesses and, managed well, they can help us to learn from the darkest elements of our past. But we have to guard against the voyeuristic and exploitative streak that is evident at so many of them" (para6). Consequently, the interpretation of the past can be conceptualised as a difficult task from entertainment and educational perspectives, even more so when the interpretations are used as a way of commercializing tragic events of human suffering, and to please tourists' curiosity. On the other hand, Escobar (2010) observed that sometimes "the proprietors of dark tourism sites are keen to adopt a perspective of rationality, of both progress and historicism. However, the educative elements of their offerings are often tempted by an orientation toward income generation and commoditisation" (para5).

Having looked at these arguments, the main dilemma identified in the literature for dark tourism organisations therefore seems to be creating an authentic, yet entertaining and at times educating emotional experience without neglecting the real facts or the tragedy suffered by real people. In this vein, scholars such as Stone (2006) and Uzzell (1989) raised concerns as to what is "authentic and inauthentic history" (Stone, 2006, p150) and why some events are more heavily interpreted, including the possibility of fabricating or enhancing particular aspects instead of others. Thus, at dark tourism sites "facts and events [might be] filtered, screened, and interpreted to make them seem more coherent and heroic than they might have been" (Foote, 1997, 241), and thus to create a more 'authentic' tourist experience.

What is more, visitors' quest for having an 'authentic' tourist experience and how this is generally not as authentic as they think was debated by Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1973). Boorstin (1964) identified that after the rapid increase of mass tourism from the early 20th century onwards, new tourists (Urry, 1990) would travel more and visit new places. Yet, rather than getting an authentic experience they would end up getting one according to their expectations. This is because these experiences are catered for by tourist providers through what he named "pseudo-events" (Boorstin, 1964, p47). Nevertheless, Boorstin (1964) blamed the tourists for this fabrication or "menace of unreality"(p242) as he implied that tourists are more concerned with having an enjoyable experience that fits with their expectations rather than going out of their way to seek a 'true authentic' experience (p242) outside

the official one. MacCannell (1973) disagreed with this view and argued that "'pseudo-events' result from the social relations of tourism and not from an individualistic search for the inauthentic" (quoted in Urry, 1990, p9). MacCannel (1973) also maintained that due to the widespread use of "staged authenticity" (p589) at tourism sites, visitors have little choice but to encounter and experience such inauthenticity in their travels unless they go beyond what is officially on offer and "penetrate into the real life of the areas [they] visit" (p601). Urry (1990) agreed with MacCannell (1973) but pointed out that the participation of tourists in 'real life' as a solution to staged authenticity might prove problematic because "the gaze of the tourist will involve intrusions into people's [local community/real characters] lives which would be generally unacceptable" (Urry, 1990, p9). Accordingly, Urry (1990) defended the use of fabrication and the use of frames at tourism sites to prevent such intrusions into h local communities, and to guide the "tourist gaze" towards tourism organisations' advantage.

The debate between Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1973) about the source of inauthenticity in tourism sites can be applicable to dark tourism sites in relation to the outcome that dark tourists experience- namely, inauthenticity. For example, Ashworth (2004) contended that dark tourism sites can be seemingly 'inauthentic' in nature. This is despite the fact that the producers/managers of tourism attractions, specifically of dark tourism ones, might claim that they tell authentic stories. Yet Ashworth (2004) argued that the "didactic motives of the producers often rest uncomfortably with the entertainment motives of the tourists" (p99), which leads to a compromise that Ashworth called *Edutainment* and criticised for being *spurious*.

The preceding debates about authenticity are useful for providing clues into how visitors perceive and experience tourism sites and how the suppliers can at times fabricate certain aspects to cater for and enhance such perceptions and experiences. Nevertheless, this study is concerned with the organisations behind dark tourism sites and their storytelling and narrative aims. In this respect, the study aims to explore how the social and historical context or what MacCannell (1973) called "social relations of tourism" generate affordances for dark tourism organisations to tell particular real/fabricated stories, use real/fabricated artefacts, and adopt particular storytelling approaches to generate an overall narrative experience that is in line with their organisational aims. In this vein, the study aims to go beyond the authentic vs.

inauthentic debates by drawing on Cohen's (2010) description of *in populo* and Knudsen and Waade's (2010) feeling based approach to authenticity. The aim is therefore to observe and explore as a researcher and visitor how the dark tourism organisations use fabrications in stories and artefacts to achieve their organisational aims relating to emotions and other mental processes among their visitors such as learning, entertainment, and commemoration.

Another key point for this study is the already mentioned *edutainment* as a compromise between education and entertainment (Ashworth, 2004). To what extent is edutainment an organisational aim? Is it amenable to all dark tourism sites? With these in mind, this study aims to find out how edutainment might emerge as an organisational aim and how it is delivered to visitors. As Ashworth (2003, 2004), it can be conveyed through the use of particular stories or narrativised objects carefully selected by dark tourism organisations. *Edutainment* can also be presented to visitors through the use of guided tours with stories (Bellotti et at.; 2002). During these tours, guides can engage and interact with visitors in different ways (e.g., making them participate in the telling of the story or asking them questions) (HRP, 2012b). Such activities might make it easier for visitors to relate with the site and histories within (Bryon, 2012), however horrible they might be. The main role of the guide at dark tourism sites can therefore be conceptualised as that of a storyteller (see Bryon, 2012), someone who not only knows a lot about the site but also can tell good and entertaining stories. This makes the guide not only a knowledge transmitter but also an entertainer and a "cultural mediator" (Macdonald, 2006, p119). Bearing in mind the relevance of tour guide to dark tourism site management and experiences (Macdonald, 2006), this study aims to further explore the role of tour guide in the selected cases and the organisational motivations behind guides' telling certain stories. In addition, this study also aims to understand why in some dark tourism sites there are no guides (e.g., the Holocaust Exhibition as observed during pilot fieldwork) and what this might tell about the organisation and related dark tourism experience they deliver. In a way, guided tours might be for some a particular method of interpretation and storytelling vehicle that trivialise the extent of the tragedy by making it lighter and even entertaining for visitors (Sharpley and Stone, 2009).

As mentioned before, the issue of who dictates the ethics of dark tourism business has already been raised by Lennon and Foley (2000). They believed that the

main stakeholders and thus the ones that dictate the ethics principles are the "visitors, local residents, victims and their relatives" (Lennon and Foley, 2000, p186). However, the World Tourism Organisation in its "Global Code of Ethics for Tourism" for any form of tourism activity (World Tourism Organization, 1999) added local and national administrations, tourism employees, and the media as other stakeholders. In the case of dark tourism, all these groups might have to be taken into consideration when deciding which stories are going to be conveyed in what particular ways to visitors at each site. For this reason, exploring the ultimate role of stakeholders in each site is one of the main objectives of this study. It is important to remember that some dark tourism organisations can create an experience purely for light entertainment (Stone, 2010). In doing so these organisations might evoke irrational fears about paranormal and from distorted historical events, which might neglect the human suffering associated with those events and consequently ignore various stakeholders in the process (Lennon and Foley, 2000; WTO, 1999; Garcia, 2012). The fact that some dark tourism organisations might be "drifting away from the facts just to entertain" (Edwards, 2008) might upset some stakeholders such as local people and living relatives of those who suffered. Consequently, if dark tourism sites are understood by the organisations behind them as only about entertaining visitors, human suffering in the past might be depreciated significantly. Such an outcome leads to some scholars to conclude that dark tourism is sometimes an 'immoral' thing to do, especially from some stakeholders' point of view (e.g., Daams, 2007; Smith and Croy, 2005).

Even though one might wonder how some dark tourism sites can be entertaining by conveying negative emotions such as anger, fear, anxiety, there is in fact a greater potential, as Campbell (1987) explained, in a deeper and subconscious level of getting pleasure from these negative feelings than from those of pure excitement or joy that seem to be explicitly on offer in lighter dark sites. Dark tourism sites, whether sombre or purely entertaining, can for that reason be seen as a form of entertainment for the ultimate goal of having an enjoyable and/or memorable experience. Throughout the visitation, this entertainment form engages mostly with visitors' negative emotions, for example, fear, anxiety, sadness, anger, and shock, and at times turns them into exhilaration, relief and other positive feelings, especially in light dark tourism sites such as ghost tour routes (Garcia, 2012; McEvoy, 2010).

However, as implied before, the fact that dark tourism sites deal, amongst others, with negative human emotions related to death in horrible conditions and/or in mass forms raises questions about not only the ethics of exploiting these emotions and such histories for commercial purposes but also how they are managed and presented to visitors. The educating or learning factor at dark tourism sites, like in many other organisations, is also achieved through narratives and storytelling. By not only telling particulars stories to visitors but also making them feel in particular ways, dark tourism organisations aim to ensure that visitors would be exposed to only certain stories, engage with these stories with particular emotional modes, and learn or take away only certain things out of these stories and their experiences.

Given the educational and emotional potential the storytelling and narratives of dark tourism organisations have, one can pose the following ethics-related question: Do dark tourism organisations have the moral authority to use stories (Tragic, Epic or Romantic, amongst others) to evoke certain emotions in visitors and stakeholders, and at the same time 'silence' others? Does the aforementioned educational purposes of dark tourism sites-namely, edutainment justify the use of stories in particular ways? Boje *et al.;*(1999) recognised the problem of "who owns the rights in telling stories", and stressed the importance of exploring "how [stories] get constructed in their *in situ* performance, and then reconstructed in subsequent tellings" (p342). In this line, it is also relevant to explore what is the 'right' emotion that organisations want to convey and dictate via telling and re-telling of particular stories *in situ*. Hochschild (1979) described the systematic and rule-like attempts organisations and employers make to change an emotion or feeling so that it is the 'right' one at every given situation as "emotion work" (p561). Creating and conveying the *correct* emotion at dark tourism sites can be similarly systematic and rule-like as dark tourism organisations might resort to prescribing and/or re-enacting what is acceptable for the organisation, its employees, visitors, and even the society as a whole. Strange and Kempa (2003,p397) actually referred to "national frames of remembrance" in relation to visitors' emotional and sensemaking experiences in dark sites. Similarly, Fineman (2000) argued that "different […] organisations will inherit the wider emotion rules of the society of which they are a part (for example on shamefulness, embarrassment, pity and kindness), but they also adapt them to create

their own codes of emotion propriety – such as what is 'right'" (p2) for different people and different situations.

As argued above, dark tourism organisations have to deal with the emotional rules in society. For example, regardless of whether a visitor is in a concentration camp in Poland or a Holocaust exhibition in Europe, visitors most probably know that what has to be felt at these sites is sadness and possibly shame as this is what society sanctions. This idea is based on the argument that emotions are socially constructed and that it is through "social consciousness" (Fineman, 1993, p16) that organisational representatives, employees and visitors inform themselves about which 'right' feelings or emotions to display in different social situations, irrespective of their prior opinions and feelings. Gabriel (1999) discussed examples of this social consciousness in action with the following examples: "When we find ourselves surrounded by sad people at a funeral, we feel sad, even if we do not have a great reason to feel sad; likewise, when we find ourselves surrounded by a cheering crowd […] we may become affected by these emotions" (p214).

In addition to the social consciousness of visitors, dark tourism organisations might ensure the conveying of the 'right' emotions by creating the 'right' overall narrative and 'appropriate' stories presented to visitors through different means. For example, during the pilot fieldwork for this study, it was observed that, at the Tower of London, tour guides, shop assistants and waiters seemed to be happy and smiling at all times (as per observations). However, at the IWML, the entrance guard to the Holocaust Exhibition had a very solemn expression that certainly did not invite the visitor to feel any other way (as per observations). This preliminary finding resembles Hochschild's (1979, 1993) and Fineman's (2000) findings that workers of certain organisations had to "present the 'right' (that is, managerially prescribed) emotional appearance to the client" (p4). In addition, Fineman (2000) argued that such prescribed emotions could be used by organisations to "achieve their ends by creating an organisational ethos" (p17).

Taylor and Todman (2012) argued that providing an emotional experience, and not merely an entertaining one, for visitors is a must for any museum or tourism site. Similarly, Franjic (2011, p4) argued that tourism sites, whether dark or not, should "not only be about entertainment, but also intrigue [visitors] with a riddle, convey [them] a message and offer [them] with emotions. Total [visitor] experience

is created solely when you include emotions as well". This necessity maybe applies to dark sites more than other tourism sites. Nevertheless, one major difficulty arises when dark tourism organisations want visitors to not only feel something such as empathy, sadness and joy, but also learn and keep something about the dark history they are presenting. According to Prusak (2005), achieving what seems like an edutainment outcome in organisational storytelling is possible because organisations could tell an entertaining and educating story while at the same time communicating or transmitting certain emotions to members and different stakeholders: "Storytelling is memorable […] we remember what we hear in a story […] because our feelings are reached" (Prusak, 2005, p170).

Given the centrality of emotions and edutainment experience, the ultimate product at dark tourism sites may feel rather intangible. This is also because it is not always a "physical object [or building] but an amalgam of products that are 'invisible' services that result […] in a tourist experience" (Evans, 2009, p215), whether it takes place in a dark or otherwise site. "Technology-based tools for interactive learning [and] storytelling" (ibid) can therefore help dark tourism sites to generate powerful and memorable experiences for visitors. Similarly, the way different physical aspects, such as narrativised artefacts, technological devices and lightning are arranged at dark tourism sites can significantly influence how the site is experienced and felt by visitors. In this vein, Wasserman *et al* (2000) introduced the idea that the physical aspects of an organisation such as colour schemes and different furniture arrangements can therefore "evoke a particular emotional response from those who enter- or consider entering- them" (p18). For that reason, it can be argued that the site or the building itself becomes a "storyteller[s] and part of the story being told" (Yanow, 1998, p215) and can therefore "communicate values, beliefs and feelings" (ibid) as well as different meanings. These and other processes of meaning making and other semiotic aspects at and of dark tourism sites are discussed in detail in subsequent sections.

Continuing on the tangibility of dark tourism experiences, Fleming (2012) explained that through the use of a range of stories a site aims to provoke certain emotions in visitors and that these stories are not about objects on display but the people behind them. He therefore conceptualizes the ways museums, dark sites, and other tourist attractions are set as a way to achieve the ultimate goal of educating

visitors through the use of emotions. This conceptualization resonates with understanding dark tourism organisations as mediators between 'us' and the past. Dark tourism organisations can achieve such mediation by providing "cultural contexts that provide the rules and vocabularies of emotion" (Fineman, 2000, p2). Since the emotions are a crucial part of the dark tourism experiences, it is possible that they are prescribed by the organisations themselves. This study therefore aims to explore if certain emotions are indeed prescribed by dark tourism organisations and whether these organisations have different emotional agendas.

More specifically, this study aims to understand how storytelling and narratives and the physical aspects of dark sites contribute to prescribing emotions to visitors and thus fulfilling organisational aims. Moreover, by studying different dark tourism sites in the UK and Spain, the study seeks to find out if dark tourism organisations emotional aims are dictated by their social and historical context. As discussed before, such as a question is important as dark tourism organisations can "encode different rules of feeling and emotion display" (Fineman, 2000, p13). Nevertheless, it is not part of the research plan of this study to find out whether dark tourism organisations actually succeed in creating certain emotions within visitors but rather explore what emotions visitors should feel according to them. However, during the research process, the emotions felt by the researcher at the selected dark tourism sites were recorded in a personal reflexive diary. This diary was expected to aid in the understanding of how the stories of dark tourism organisations seek to encourage, prescribe or discourage emotions in different ways. The researchers' emotional responses, recorded in this diary, alongside field observations on visitor reactions were identified and discussed throughout the study to assess the effectiveness of the storytelling and narratives in producing the emotional responses that are associated with each organisation's aims.

Dark tourism semiotics and 'place' vs. 'space'

"What the public wants is the image of passion, not passion itself" (Barthes, 1942, p90)

The previous sections have examined how the dark tourism literature have addressed various dimensions, such as ethics, authenticity, emotions and physicality, which are all related to meaning making and management in dark tourism sites. Another way of approaching these meaning dimensions is the exploration of

semiotics in dark tourism as it can cast light on meaning making through signs, symbols, and visitors' experiences. Semiotics "involves the study not only of what we refer to as 'signs' [signifier] in everyday speech, but of anything which 'stands for' something else [signified]" (Chandler, 1995, p2). Morgan and Pritchard (1998) argued that tourists' perceptions are moulded by tourism organisations through "a system of meanings [that are] communicated by signs, images and meanings [and allows to understand] how tourism reinforces and encourages particular ways of seeing and thinking" (p31). Studying semiotics at heritage and dark sites can useful as it "can assist us to become more aware of reality as a construction and of the roles played by ourselves and others in constructing it" (Chandler 1995, p10). Another benefit is that it can "help us to not take representations for granted as reflections of reality, enabling us to take them apart and consider whose realities they represent" (Chandler, 2002, p82).

According to Gabriel (2008) the difference between a sign and a symbol is that a "sign has a fixed meaning, while a symbol can have various meanings and are more likely to generate an emotional response than a sign would" (p296). Accordingly, dark tourism sites could be described as public symbols because many individuals and groups know and share them. Yet, dark tourism sites also achieve a "form of encoding and decoding meanings" (Gabriel, 2008, p296). These contradictory aspects imply that different people might perceive not only the narratives within but also the physical spaces at dark tourism sites- not to mention the dark site itself in different ways, regardless of what the ultimate goal of the dark tourism organisation is. What is more "there is a world of difference between space as it exists physically and space as it is perceived" (Seaton, 2009, p96). Bearing this in mind, this study aims to also explore how dark tourism organisations "administer […] the site [while at the same time] shaping and responding to the perceptions of the visitors" (ibid). More specifically, this study searches for answers to the following question posed by Sharpley (2009): "What meanings are attached to [dark tourism] visits?" (p22). Nevertheless, this question is answered from the studied organisations' perspective rather than the demand side- namely, visitors. This is an important managerial aspect to study because dark tourism organisations may have to "anticipat[e] and negotiat[e] contradictions and[or] conflicts, due to the polysemia of

[dark sites since they, and the narratives within, are] subject to [different] social meanings" (Seaton, 2009, p97).

Despite the dark tourism organisations' attempts to impose certain meanings and a semiologic, not all visitors are going to be affected in the same way as "some will reflect, some will reject, others […] will feel bored or simply disengaged [while] some will ignore the touristic message entirely" (Waterton and Watson, 2014, p13). These visitor reactions are associated with the semiotic interpretation on offer in each site and the fact that "within those interpretations [there] are implicit affective affordances that speak more directly to some visitors than others" (Waterton and Watson, 2014, p28). In fact, Seaton (2009) conceptualised dark tourism sites as "polysemic" in nature as visitors can have different experiences of the same site and would give different meanings to the stories conveyed. King (1998) similarly argued that "symbols are subject to a variety of interpretations" (p247). However, King (1998) also explained that these different interpretations are mainly a "contest among different groups within a community to get their own preferred meaning accepted by the community at large [which will] ultimately [lead] to the establishment of a single dominant [story]" (p247). This process of a dominant story establishment might actually characterize the stories and the overall narrative (experience) in dark tourism sites. Relatedly, Urry (1990) argued, as previously mentioned, that the tourist gaze should be guided as much as possible by those organisations that manage tourism sites, and not be left to chance and wander. This might imply that dark tourism organisations not only present a dominant narrative experience but also actively manage visitor experience towards a less polysemic experience. These arguments further motivate this study's aim to explore the extent of dark tourism organisations' awareness and management of visitors' co-creating and/or challenging the narrative experience in dark sites.

As discussed before physical aspects of dark tourism sites are constitutive parts of the storytelling and narratives adopted by dark tourism organisations. From a semiotic perspective, buildings can be seen as documents where it is possible to 'read' the past and become part of the story. Buildings can therefore constitute the most important artefact to transmit history (Thurley, 2011). Similarly, Foote (1997) remarked that "tragedy sites [are] shaped to represent local, regional, and national traditions [and] present a selective view of the past" (p293). Seaton (2009) agreed

with the previous view and suggested that "gravestones, memorials and monuments are texts about the past" (p97) but also pointed out that these can be "read by groups in the present [but] not all groups [would] take away the same meaning from them" (ibid). Whether or not what visitors take away is in line with the managerial goals, buildings and carefully selected artefacts and stories would transmit meanings also "at an emotional level [and] persuade more than many words", and in turn become a symbol of the history they represent (Gabriel, 1999, p202).

In this line, Foote (1997) explored the relation between memory and trauma by identifying how sites of trauma, particularly their physical aspects, are used over time to memorialise and commemorate particular episodes in history and the reasons behind each memorialisation outcome. The four different outcomes Foote identified are: "sanctification, designation, rectification and obliteration" (p214). Obliteration has been previously discussed in this literature review in reference to the possible 'selective amnesia' by dark tourism organisations. Foote (1997) explained that the process of "sanctification" refers to the process of how heritage sites can be "transformed [from a physical place] into a symbol intended to remind future generations of a virtue or sacrifice or to warn them of events to be avoided" (p8). Completely opposite is the process of "obliteration" by which "all evidence of a tragedy" (p24) is removed from the site. In between these opposing outcomes "designation" and "rectification" can be found. Designation' implies that "a site is marked [as a place where something important happened] but not sanctified" (Foote, 1997, p16) because the events that happened there are not seen as important as those in a sanctified site (p 18). On the other hand, "rectification is the process through which a tragedy site is put right and used again [by] exonerat[ing] it of any involvement in the tragedy" (ibid, p23) and it is "the most common outcome when tragedies come to be viewed as accidents and when violence is interpreted as senseless" (ibid). Ultimately, Foote (1997) contended that it is through these processes of memorialisation, regardless of which one is chosen, that societies can achieve "closure [by providing them with] a sense that the worst is behind and the first stage of recovery is complete" (Foote, 1997, p81). Also, he acknowledged the fact that none of these outcomes are "necessarily final" (ibid, p214) because "minor adjustments are common, and major changes not unusual, [even] sometimes long after an event" (ibid).

The previous explanation about the possible memorialisation outcomes for tragic sites is going to be used in this study to frame each of the six case studies in their social and historical context as well as stakeholder dynamics. These different memorialisation outcomes placed within the broader social and historical context are important get a better idea of how tragic 'places' can be transformed into 'spaces' of memorialisation (or not) through the use (or not) of particular storytelling and narratives at dark tourism sites.

As hinted above, the dichotomy between 'place' and 'space' and their importance for the overall meaning creation process is equally important for the study of dark tourism and dark tourism experiences. It could be said that 'place' refers to the physical attributes of a site that by being provided with particular meanings, they are transformed into 'spaces' (McDowell and Braniff, 2014; De Certau, 1984). With this in mind, De Certau (1984) defined 'place' as "the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence" (p117) while 'spaces' are "composed of intersections of mobile elements" (ibid). Effectively, he implied that a place is, for instance, a building, while space is what gives that place a meaning by combining different elements like objects, emotional responses and experiences, to name some. This distinction is particularly important when it comes to understanding the use of storytelling and narratives at dark tourism sites because as De Certeau (1984) claimed, "stories […] traverse and organize places: they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them" (p115). In spite of the previous distinction being mainly used in geographical and sociological terms, the same affirmations can be used when it comes to studying dark tourism sites and the use of storytelling and narratives within. Through the use of stories, as has been previously discussed, dark tourism places can be transformed into spaces charged with meanings (De Certeau, 1984).

In this line, Yanow (1998) argued that "organisational spaces are significant to human meaning making and, therefore, to organisational practices" (p216). At the same time, Seaton (2009) pointed out how important it is for dark tourism providers to manage the potential meaning making qualities of the physical aspects at dark tourism sites. This is because these aspects are together with their "auratic qualities" (Seaton, 2009, p75) what truly defines "thanatourism" (ibid) and visitor experiences at these sites. Dark tourism sites "association[s] with death" (Seaton, 2009, p106)

and the possible indulgence by visitors in "thanagazing" (Johnston, 2011, p241) that is motivated by the pursuit of "temporary encounters with [the other]" (Seaton, 2009), are all necessary for the overall auratic essence of dark tourism sites and experiences. As a matter of fact, these auratic qualities do not only apply to the sites and experiences but also to the "objects and facilities [within] if [they] are appropriately (re)presented, illustrated, explained and contextualised on site" (Kaelber, 2008, p750). All these can in turn provide a "more enduring engagement with the subject matter" (ibid).

Nevertheless, the ways in which organisational places (physical attributes) and spaces (using particular objects, stories) within dark tourism sites are organised and contextualised might raise interpretative and ethical challenges too. In this line, Gabriel (1999) suggested that "like official organisational stories, the material artefacts of an organisation may be challenged or subverted" (p203). For example, according to Pickard (2007), many visitors found "some of the exhibits [such as the room filled with the hair of 40.000 people]" at Auschwitz "ghoulish and unnecessary" and he questioned if "all that [is] really necessary, or is it there just to indulge people's taste of the dark?" (p126). What is more, Hartman (2014), argued that "dissonance is implicit in commodification processes, in the creation of place products, and in the content of messages which might in some cases lead to disinheritance" (Hartman, 2014, p167) of particular stakeholders of the sites.

The concept of disinheritance, which refers to the deprivation of a privilege or a right (Oxford English Dictionary, 2015), is useful in the study dark tourism as it implies that by prescribing particular calculated meanings to visitors, dark tourism organisations may be at the same time depriving other voices or stakeholders of their right to tell their version of events and give their own meaning to the 'spaces' within the site. With this in mind, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) expressed that "the creation of any heritage actively or potentially disinherits or excludes those who do not subscribe to, or are embraced within the terms of meanings attending that heritage" (Graham and Howard, 2008, p3). Thus, "the process of exclusion and forgetting involved in disinheritance [or 'othering'] can have profoundly important effects" (ibid). Relatedly, this confirms how important it is to study possible processes of 'othering' (Seaton, 2009), as previously discussed in this literature

review, and how this processes can have implications for the creation and management of 'places' and 'spaces' at dark tourism sites.

Moreover, managerial decisions on the organisation of a space (for example how artefacts are placed within the narrative) in dark tourism sites is closely associated with what dark tourism organisations believe visitors expect from dark tourism sites. Such beliefs might be contradicted by visitors' reactions to the stories and experiences at dark tourism sites. This implies that the overall experience and the meanings conveyed within can be co-constructed by the tourism provider and the visitor, as previously discussed. But to what extent are dark tourism organisations aware of this possible co-construction process and what room do they provide, if any, for visitors to engage in that co-construction or self-interpretation process of the stories and narratives told at each site?

To this aim, and as previously mentioned, this study is also going to bring a "first person perspective [that will] allow the researcher to capture the "tourist moment" (Cary, 2004 as quoted in Bird, 2013) and therefore "co-participate in the thoughts and feelings associated with [dark tourism experiences]" (Bird, 2013, p170). In doing so, I bring the perspective of co-constructor of dark tourism spaces, but also an observer's point of view of how this co-construction process happens at dark tourism sites between visitors and spaces. In the process, I attempt to establish how certain aspects, such as the exhibition layout, certain artefacts, stories or narrative amongst others, are actually "embraced, ignored or proscribed" (Seaton, 2009, p83) by visitors at dark tourism sites.

What is more, organisations can "affect visitors in a desired lasting way through tour narratives, text materials and objects [amongst others]" (Kaelber, 2008, p750) that will at the same time allow for the creation of particular meanings and spaces at dark tourism sites. A good example of this is a glass cabinet with hundreds of shoes present at different Holocaust exhibitions all around the world. Such artefacts "function as signs which construct meanings and thus carry messages, which can be [then] interpreted" (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998, p32). The shoes in this case symbolise the six million individual victims of the Holocaust because, "in the absence of any records which include [all the] names of the six million [victims] killed [during the Holocaust], the shoes [act as a symbol] used to represent them" (furtherglory, 2013, n.p). What is more, by placing the shoes randomly in a pile

inside a single cabinet, they are representing much more than what they physically are. They are not just shoes; these shoes were people, each pair a victim, each representing a different personal story (Henderson, 2013) that will never be told.

In essence, "by presenting material remnants [not only at Holocaust sites but at all dark tourism sites], learners [or visitors] are encouraged to experience [the tragic events] through numbers of victims and the eyes of perpetrators" (Henderson, 2013, p686). On the other hand, sometimes the stories surrounding dark tourism sites, both established and potential can be so powerful on their own, without the presence of any artefacts, that they might impute meanings on the sites with which organisations behind their management do not agree. Accordingly, organisations might attempt to avoid conveying any such stories and details of associated tragic past to visitors. Nevertheless, the stories that have been constructed and communicated outside organisations' control, irrespective of these stories' authenticity might transform such heritage sites into 'unwilling' dark tourism sites.

The arguments and examples reviewed on the semiotics of dark tourism sites demonstrate that the generation and management of meanings is a dynamic process involving stories, artefacts in spaces and places (for example buildings), managerial goals, and visitors' reactions. The study aims to explore the process of meaning making and managing in the selected sites from a semiotic perspective. More specifically, and coming back to the storytelling and narrative approach to organising and organisations adopted in this study, the collected observation data shall also be analysed according to a conceptual framework introduced by Roland Barthes (1974) on literary texts, namely "readerly vs. writerly" (p5). When applied to overall narrative experience in dark tourism sites, Readerly and Writerly point to different semiotic affordances given to visitors by dark tourism organisations. As inspired by Barthes (1980), these affordances in the case of Readerly refer to being dictated on what to feel and understand without room for manoeuvre. In the case of Writerly, they refer to being encouraged to be part of the overall narrative by becoming co-creators and deciding how they should feel. In the process of creating a Readerly or Writerly experience for their visitors, dark tourism organisations might also resort to embellishment of facts or even fiction. The next section discusses these aspects in more detail.

Readerly vs. Writerly, empathy and fictional stories

"Fiction has the power to fill the imaginative gaps left by history" (Jardine, 2014, para1)

As introduced before, Roland Barthes first presented Readerly and Writerly in 1974 in relation to literary texts. Barthes explained that Writerly is a text "upon which no consequent language can be superimposed [therefore this] text is ourselves writing" (p5) and one in which the "meaning is not immediately evident" (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, 2014). On the other hand, a Readerly text "presents a world of identifiable characters and events [and] demand no special effort to [be understood]" (ibid). In the context of organisational knowledge and meaning making, Rhodes (2002) argued that "a Readerly text is one that limits the number of oppositions [by placing] the reader as a passive consumer of its meaning [thus] achieving closure" (p113) while Writerly text refers to the one that does "not provide the reader with a pre-packaged meaning but rather encourages readers to participate in the production of that meaning" (ibid).

In a tourism context, Waterton and Watson (2014) explained Writerly as "tools that […] tourism sites afford some visitors [that would give them the] confidence or a feeling of having the right to fill its spaces" (p28). Earlier, Lowenthal (1998) proposed a normative stance on Readerly and Writerly frame in relation to heritage sites: "History and heritage are not simply imposed on us by the dead hand of remote ancestors or the diktat of by gone autocrats but are our very own" (p250). Nevertheless, the existing literature on heritage and dark tourism does not provide a meaningful insight into how actual Readerly or Writerly experiences are achieved, especially in relation to the storytelling approach taken and the experiences devised for visitors in a dark tourism site.

From the perspective of storytelling approach in dark tourism contexts, Readerly can be conceptualised as the combination of stories and dark tourism experiences that vigorously suggests visitors what they should hear and how they should feel in a dark site. Such a combination does not therefore leave much room for visitors to make up their own mind about the events, characters and tones present in the stories. Dark tourism organisations that take a Readerly approach would therefore use not only storytelling techniques but also other narrative aspects, such as the way exhibitions are laid out, to dictate what visitors should ultimately experience

(hear, see and feel) at the sites under their management and even after the visitation. In that sense, the listener/visitor is expected to take the stories and experience in a passive way, without questioning what is being said/presented. Barthes (1973) explained that in general, consumers (visitors) do not question the semiology of a Readerly site (or a product) but rather accept it unreservedly without questioning it.

Contrary to this experience, in a Writerly approach the types of text/experience/story offered would encourage the listener to take part in their creation so that they become the co-constructors. There is no predetermined meaning; instead each individual gives the final meaning. Readerly stories and experiences "reassure us with answers" (Copenhaver, 2010, para5) while Writerly ones "ask us to struggle with the human mysteries they offer" (ibid). In this vein, in order to 'dictate' certain emotions on visitors and consolidate their Readerly approach, dark tourism organisations might use fictional stories or fabricated facts. In fact, it can be argued that "Readerly texts […] disguises its status as a fiction […] and presents itself as a transparent window onto 'reality' [while] Writerly […] acknowledges its artifice by calling attention to the various techniques which produce the illusion of realism" (Keep *et al.;* 1993, para4). However, the use of fictitious details during storytelling cannot be taken as a strong signifier of either of the approaches because fictional details and embellishments are likely to appear and become part of stories as they are told repeatedly (Gabriel, 2000; Brown, 2006).

The issue of using fictitious embellishments and their perceived 'authenticity' has been previously discussed with the use of Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell debates (1973) as well as insights by Cohen (2010) and Knudsen and Waade (2010). These debates have further implications for dark tourism sites and visitor experiences at an emotional level. This is because, despite the prevalence of embellishments and fictional aspects in storytelling, fictional stories or experiences might be intentionally used to convey and encourage very strong emotions, particularly empathy in listeners (Bal and Veltkamp, 2013). Empathy refers to "the ability to share someone else's feelings or experiences by imagining what it would be like to be in that person's situation|" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2013). Whether Readerly or Writerly, "dark tourism experience[s] require empathy/emotion on the part of the visitor" (Miles 2002 as cited in Stone and Sharpley, 2008, p579). It would not therefore be

surprising to observe the intentional use of fictional stories or experiences by dark tourism organisations.

Goleman (2008) and Fleming (2012) identified empathy as a fundamental emotion to be induced by organisations such as museums, heritage attractions and dark tourism sites because empathy can lead to visitors' understanding, learning and action. As empathy is most likely to influence visitors' learning and attitudes (Goleman, 2008; Fleming, 2012), dark tourism organisations might tell stories in particular ways that encourages empathy and thus learning, especially about the particular events visitors are being presented in dark sites (e.g., Garcia, 2012). Yet, it might not be enough to tell a story or write a particular text for a display board in a dark site to induce empathy and action among visitors because there is a stronger need for listeners to be "emotionally transported into the story" (Bal and Veltkamp, 2013, p1). The overall usefulness of the stories and experiences to the relevant organisational aims, e.g., a Readerly experience, are also dependent on "the extent to which a reader [visitors] can identify with the main characters, [as well as their] perceived usefulness of a [particular] narrative" (Bal *et al.;* 2011, p361). The need for emotional transportation, empathy and learning on the part of visitors might therefore underpin the use of particular real or fictional stories and the way they are delivered to audience in dark tourism sites.

The above reviewed studies provide a solid theoretical framework to understand how real and fictional stories can influence individuals, particularly in a working environment via emotional transportation (e.g., Bal *et al.;* 2011; Bal and Veltkamp, 2013). Yet, there is a gap in the dark tourism literature regarding how this emotional transportation happens, especially in relation to the use of real and fictional stories. For example, Chronis (2005, 2008) and Chronis *et al.* (2012) studied the importance of visitors being emotionally transported and connected with the story at Gettysburg- a dark tourism site related to the American Civil War. They argued that this connection was made not only through visitors being the listeners at the sites but also "through their presence in and movement through the site [as that way they] become part of the story" (p16). Nevertheless, Chronis (2005, 2008) and Chronis *et al.*'s (2012) referred to a single dark tourism site, Gettysburg. Such a single site study does not allow for sufficient comparative insight into the influences of semiotic dynamics on storytelling and narrative outcomes in dark sites such as

Readerly vs. Writerly, empathy and emotional transportation. This study therefore aims to provide such comparative insights by looking at cases from the UK and Spain.

Components of theoretical and methodological framework

With all the above themes considered, the following diagram (figure 4) offers a summary of the literature review components, as well as the theoretical and research framework of this study**.** The represented framework shows the different theoretical and methodological perspectives explored and how this study relates to them. What is more, this framework was also used as a reference for the research problem and subsequent research objectives.

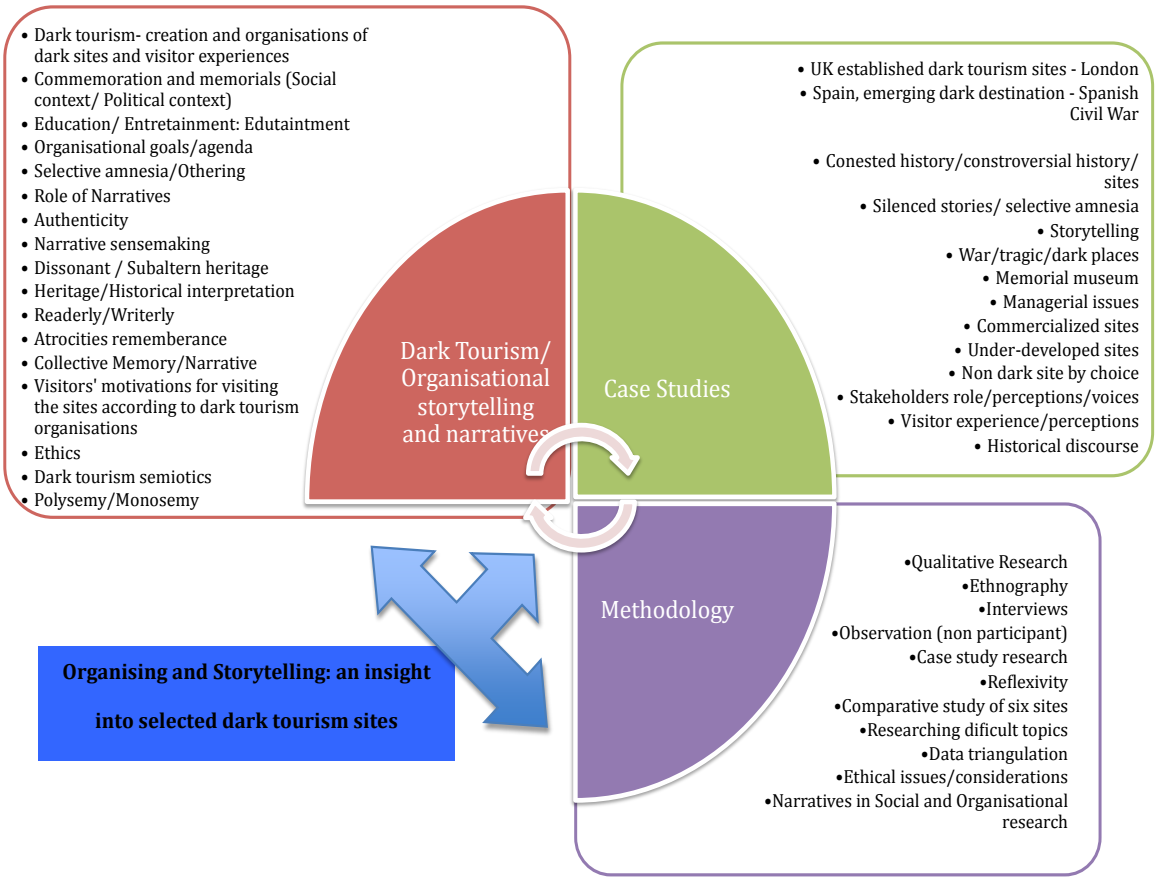


Figure 4. Theoretical and methodological framework

Research purpose and objectives

As informed by the literature review and theoretical framework presented above, the purpose of this research is to explore different aspects of the creation and communication of stories in and by dark tourism organisations as well as the organisational and stakeholder dynamics of these processes in a given social and historical context. Because of this, an in-depth study of six different dark sites in the UK and Spain is carried out to answer the following main research question:

How and why do dark tourism organisations create, organise and convey particular stories in sites under their management?

The main purpose of this empirical study is to gain an in-depth understanding of how dark tourism organisations create, organise and convey particular stories at dark tourism sites and the possible reasons behind doing so such as organisational aims, commemoration, and edutainment. To answer the main research question in relation to the perspectives explored in the literature review, this study seeks to present and discuss answers for the following research objectives:

Objective 1. Investigate how stories and storytelling feature in the organising and management of dark tourism sites, especially in relation to particular dark tourism experiences within.

Objective 2. Understand how dark tourism organisations set their aims for the site-specific activities. Examine the extent to which these aims (e.g., achieve an emotional connection between story and visitors; evoke empathy) are shaped by organising factors discussed in the dark tourism literature such as entertainment, edutainment, and commemoration (e.g., Stone, 2012 and Okan, 2003). Ascertain how these organisational aims and the organising factors behind them relate to broader social and historical context including political ideology, and shape the nature of stories that are created and disseminated by dark tourism organisations. Relatedly,

identify the main narrators and tone of voice used at each site and how they relate to these factors.

Objective 3. Explore if and how other organisations and stakeholders can influence storytelling and narratives at dark tourism sites in terms of ethics, historical interpretation and other issues; or as Boje *et al*. (1999) put it: "Who is in control of the story [and] who is shaping and influencing the story?" (p354). With this in mind, find out which groups are 'othered' from official stories and narratives and why. Moreover, examine dark tourism organisations' awareness/perceptions of visitors' motives for visiting their sites. Assess whether and how this type of awareness/perception affects storytelling acts and other aspects of site management such as interpretation and ethics. Furthermore, get an understanding of the contestation or controversies of these storytelling acts.

Objective 4. Identify what challenges (e.g., having to incorporate and co-exist with conflicting voices or dissonant/subaltern heritage) and what opportunities (e.g., remembrance, peace, reconciliation) the interpretation of the past poses to dark tourism site management. Understand the relationship between these challenges/opportunities and the way stories/storytelling are found (or not) in each site. Also, place these relationships within broader social and historical context.

Objective 5. Explore the different semiotic aspects at dark tourism sites. Given the plurality of meanings in storytelling and narratives, investigate what is the intended symbolism of each dark tourism site and its storytelling approach, narratives and artefacts? How are these "meanings, symbolic representations and built environment negotiated" (Hage, 2006, p292) by the organisation and its stakeholders? Relatedly, investigate if the selected dark tourism sites are polysemic or monosemic in the outcome of these negotiations and thus the overall narratives.

Objective 6. Use Barthes' (1974) Readerly vs. Writerly texts theory to find out whether dark tourism provide tools for visitors to make their own interpretation of the experience/history/emotions (Writerly) or they prescribe everything to visitors as to not give any room for them to question or make their own interpretation (Readerly). Assess the reasons behind these interpretative outcomes in relation to the factors explored above.

Objective 7. Last but not least, create a new theoretical model, based on the findings of this study and with the aid of the previous literature review, about the different organising and storytelling dimensions at dark tourism sites and how do they relate to one another.

"Though this be madness, yet there is method in't."

(Shakespeare, Hamlet Act II, Scene II)

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

This chapter explains the qualitative case study methodology used in this study, including the different data gathering methods carried out during fieldwork, such as interviews, observations and document analysis. Qualitative research methods are particularly relevant when a researcher is trying to find how things emerge in their natural settings and how the same experience might be given diverse meanings by different individuals (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). What is more, this study is framed in the epistemological approach of social constructivism in which the researcher emphasises "the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied and […] seeks answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning" (ibid, p8). This chapter discusses each of these matters in detail. It concludes by providing a framework for the reader to understand the study's validity, reliability and generalisability. These three issues are then discussed in the concluding chapter.

Research design and epistemological framework

The present research is an exploratory qualitative study (Yin, 2003), which followed in the footsteps of most dark tourism research. As Weight (2006) stated, dark tourism studies have been generally "qualitative in terms of methodologies adopted by researchers" (p11). A qualitative approach was chosen to conduct this research mainly because it was necessary to carry out in-depth semi-structured interviews with different representatives of the organisations managing the chosen dark tourism sites, and complement and square their insights with the data gathered from field observations. These qualitative data collection methods allowed more freedom to the researcher than those more structured ones used in quantitative studies such as surveys (See Hoffmann, 2007; Rapley, 2001). Quantitative studies are mainly concerned with measurements about causality and correlations among various social phenomena (Adams *et al.*; 2007) rather than getting an in-depth exploration of a particular phenomenon. Qualitative data collection methods were deemed essential for this study also because storytelling and narratives, as products of dark tourism organisations exist (mainly) in dark tourism sites and are organised and conveyed in particular ways. The most plausible ways to understand and capture

and make sense of these *in situ* products and experiences were observations and talking to relevant stakeholders. Taking into consideration the socially constructed and contested nature of organising (Boje 1995; Gabriel 2000; Czarniawska 2004), these stakeholders should be from not just dark tourism organisations but other organisations, groups and individuals involved with dark histories of the sites.

Bearing the study's methodological approach in mind, semi-structured interviews with key informants from all the six sites were carried out. Although I had a list of questions prepared beforehand as well as some conjectures, semi-structured interviewing method allowed me to conduct my interviews as conversations with my interviewees in which different stories and themes I might not have been aware before could emerge. In addition, carrying out face-to-face interviews was the best way to collect data about other aspects such as interviewees' facial expressions, body language as well as their "perceptions, opinions, feelings and knowledge" (Patton, 2002, p4). As mentioned before, observations were also made in all the six sites. These observations aimed to capture *in situ* phenomena related to the organising, storytelling and narratives in the dark sites. The multi-method data collection allowed me to triangulate my findings from in-depth interviewees (Denzin 2006).

Similarly, collection and analysis of relevant documents, such as official documents, tourist guides, newspaper articles and books related to the dark sites was carried out to enrich and triangulate the collected data by observations and interviews. Last but not least, my own voice as a researcher and visitor of the sites was used as a method of data collection by writing both a fieldwork and personal diary throughout the research process. These diaries were particularly important to achieve a holistic understanding of the storytelling approaches and outcomes in and by the dark tourism organisations. They also aided the reflexive research process. In the social sciences, this process takes into account the effect of the researcher on what is being studied (Nadin and Cassell, 2006) and what effects this can have on all stages of the research process. This process entailed "careful consideration of the phenomenon under study, as well as ways a researcher's owns assumptions and behaviour may be impacting the inquiry" (Watt, 2007, p82). This type of practice, both keeping and using a separate personal diary to include the researcher's voice is "an accepted practice from [a] constructivist perspective" (Ortlipp, 2008, p704) and therefore fits with the methodological and epistemological approach of this study. A

more detailed account on the reflexivity process in this study as well as an excerpt from the personal diary is provided later in the chapter.

The above discussed qualitative data collection methods have actually been identified by several scholars in organisation studies field as the most fitting ones to study not only the process of creating and conveying stories (Gabriel, 20008, Czarniawska, 2004) but also the emotional side of the experiences organisations want to convey or be related to (Boje, 1995). Through ethnographic research, these researchers have explored what stories organisations create and convey about themselves and how these are conveyed to and contested by different stakeholders such as employees, consumers and investors. This study followed in their path.

As previously mentioned, epistemologically and methodologically this study has been informed by a social constructivist approach to social life. This approach assumes that "meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world… meaning is not discovered, but constructed […] by subject and object" (Crotty, 1998, p8-9). As discussed in detail in the literature review, organisations use storytelling and narratives to construct their own social reality and use these stories as a tool to communicate this reality to different stakeholders for purposes such as education, entertainment, consumption, and legitimization (Bruner 1991; Gabriel 2000). The implication of taking such a constructivist view for the study of dark tourism is that the focus should be on the processes in which meanings and experiences are created, re-enacted and challenged in intra- and inter-organisational relationships (Boje, 1995; Van Maanen, 1991; Czarniawska, 1997). Hence, this study aimed at focusing on the process and outcomes of meaning construction by dark tourism organisations with the help of entering "the everyday social world [of dark tourism organisations]" (Blaikie, 2000, p114-5). *In situ* observations of the sites and experiences within were supported by the analysis of documents and narrativised artefacts that contain implicit or explicit meanings. In social science research, such a social constructivist informed research strategy to social life and organisations is put under the methodological concept of ethnography. As Czarniawska (1992, quoted in Ybema et al.; 2009) put it, ethnography is the "best suited [method] for grasping the essence of organisational action [and] the inherent dialectics of matter and ideas" (p4).

Given the research aims and objectives of this study as well as its epistemological stance, ethnographic research at different dark tourism sites was most suited to explore how meanings about a dark tourism site and its specific contents are constructed, organised and/or challenged. In this exploration, the focus was on the following phenomena: Storytelling acts, narratives and other artefacts pertaining to the dark history; organisational features and routines that maintain the dark tourism products; visitor experiences as perceived by site management and employees; and stakeholder relationships. Being in the field and making observations and having discussions with organisational members or 'natives' were aimed at gathering and triangulating different types of data on these phenomena (Reissner, 2008). Moreover, going beyond the sites and conversing with other stakeholders such as victims/heritage associations, researchers, and victims allowed further insights into underlying dynamics of the dark tourism experiences.

As mentioned in the beginning, this study as a data selection and collection strategy made use of exploratory case studies (Yin, 2003) on five dark tourism sites and one non-dark site in the UK and Spain. Case study research has been identified by Yin (1994) as the best method when the phenomenon to be studied cannot be done so outside their natural context. Moreover, as Robson (1993) put it, case study is "a strategy for doing research […]within [the studied phenomenon's] real life context using multiple sources of evidence" (p52). Exploratory case study with different methods of data collection was therefore a necessary choice for this study given the previously discussed gaps in the dark tourism literature regarding the role of storytelling and narratives.

The case study method of data selection and collection allows for more holistic results and comparisons- if multiple cases are explored (Crotty, 1998; Yin, 1994). As Stanley (2006) and Stone (2006) observed, not all dark tourism sites have the same dark character in terms of underpinning historical events and the way they are utilised for different purposes such as commemoration, education, and entertainment. That is why collecting data with the above mentioned methods across different cases was the best-suited method to capture site-specific storytelling and overall narrative, and how they might be influenced and contested by different dynamics of organising within and outside dark tourism organisations. In this respect, field observations in this study allowed for the collection of stories and other

narrativised artefacts such as objects, displays, and posters. More importantly, similar to single case studies on dark sites (e.g., Stanley, 2006; Knox 2006), the field observations also provided unique and very rich observational insight into the site-specific experiences. Moreover, the cross-cultural nature of the study allowed for comparison of these rich observational insights across the six cases. For instance, observing visitors (their reactions, expressions, attitudes, and comments) and acting as one created the opportunity to understand how the audience received the stories and narrativised artefacts, the layout of the exhibition, and the overall narrative experience.

On the whole, the multiple methods employed in the explorative case studies across the UK and Spain aimed to collect data firstly on site-specific storytelling and narratives that organise dark tourism experiences in their natural context, and secondly on story exchanges/contestations among dark tourism organisations and other stakeholders. This double focus and triangulated data collection explored the storytelling dynamics in relation to the creation, reproduction and consumption of dark tourism sites. The following section explores in detail the case study selection rationale in this study.

Case studies selection

As previously introduced, this is a comparative study of six sites in two countries, three in the UK and three in Spain. In the UK, the two dark sites studied were: The Tower of London, the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML. In Spain, three sites related to the Spanish Civil War were chosen: The Valley of the Fallen in Madrid, the ruins of Old Belchite[2] in Zaragoza and the Guernica Peace Museum. These cases include one non-dark tourism site- namely, Hampton Court Palace in the UK, which has been chosen for this study to explore how an organisation can deliberately eschew a dark narrative and avoid becoming a dark tourism site despite having the potential to do so. This case therefore highlights some of the agency that can be exercised by organisations in choosing to present themselves not as dark tourism sites. All six cases were chosen based on the main research problem of 'how' and 'why' storytelling and narratives are used as they are. Selecting cases from two different countries with arguably different social and historical contexts allowed the

[2] Named Old Belchite or 'Pueblo Viejo' in Spanish, after a new Belchite was constructed after the Spanish Civil War (BelchitePuebloViejo, n.d)

study to explore not just how dark tourism organisations re-enacted storytelling and narrative processes and outcomes *in situ* in accordance with their organisational aims but also how these re-enactments and outcomes interacted with stakeholders and distinctive social and historical contexts found in Spain and the UK.

Related to this broader comparative perspective sought, a number of criteria for case selection were generated by the researcher in accordance with the extant literature on organising and storytelling as well as dark tourism. These criteria helped ensure variety and breadth in relation to the storytelling and narrative decisions and outcomes observable in dark tourism sites. These criteria included:

1. **The stage of development of the site**: From fully developed dark tourism sites where a great deal of resources, thought and marketing has already been spent in attracting visitors and giving them a certain experience, to sites that may be in the process of becoming/organising into a dark tourism attraction.

2. **Scope of narrativisation**: Associated with the stage of development, from highly narrativised sites to barely narrativised, i.e., from sites where the narrative support to the tourist experience is highly crystallised to those where it is fragmented, tentative, contested or still in development.

3. **Level of controversy**: How controversial are the site/storytelling/ narratives/. This also relates to the nature of histories that underpin the site, the ways society and politics deal with such histories via processes such as silencing-othering, and the ways in which dark tourism organisations attempt to organise the site/storytelling/narratives.

4. **The extent of commercialisation:** Where a clear commercial activity regarding gruesome past events or practices takes place, generally by seeking to monetize (and often trivialise) the past. The extent of commercialisation relates to the debates about authenticity, ethics, and stakeholders.

5. **Ultimate organisational goal**: Commemoration; entertainment and fun; remembrance; education. Where do they come from? How are they pursued with what sort of challenges?

6. **Chronological distance to events**: Whether organisations deal with recent traumatic events or others far away in time. How this time dimension in the "heritage force field" influences storytelling and narrative outcomes.

With the previous criteria in mind, the UK sites were chosen with the conjecture that they were better established and developed tourist sites than those in Spain, as well as being generally highly narrativised and less controversial. Two of the UK sites (The Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace) are located in places where gruesome events happened centuries ago, while the third one, the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML, deals with a recent traumatic event. The Tower of London was conjectured to be offering a dark tourism experience, which was both commercialised and controversial from a light entertainment point of view. On the other hand, Hampton Court Palace was considered to be a commercialised but a non-dark tourism site with a potential to become one thanks to gruesome parts in its long history. The fact that both sites are managed by Historic Royal Palaces was considered to be highly revealing in understanding the formation and pursuit of organisational goals. On the other hand, the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML was conjectured as a non-commercialised and non-controversial site in the sense that there is a strong moral and historical consensus about the events re-created and commemorated in this site. Moreover, no entrance fee is demanded from visitors. The Holocaust Exhibition was therefore assumed to be a place for sadness and commemoration of man-made horrors and suffering.

Regarding the level of narrativisation, the selected sites in Spain, especially The Valley of the Fallen and the ruins of Old Belchite were be considered as emerging and therefore the degree of narrativisation was expected to be relatively low or almost non-existent. Moreover, because these sites are also closely associated with recent traumatic events in Spanish history, they are also highly controversial. Both sites were therefore expected to struggle as sites, more specifically as those of commemoration and remembrance, because of their semiotic polyphonies and the associated difficulty of creating narratives that all stakeholders would find acceptable. In fact, both sites also seemed to struggle in terms of site development. During the research design and pilot study phases, it was observed that The Valley of the Fallen, which was controversially built as a site of reconciliation after the Spanish Civil War, had to go through political interventions and closure. These

interventions caused mass protests and the reopening of the site. On the other hand, in the early stages of this study, it was observed that the ruins of Old Belchite, despite attracting local and international visitors were just ruins without any formal organisation managing it. This had been the case until March 2013 when a new tourism development was established at the site. This development included the enclosure of the ruins and the acclimatisation of the site to conduct official guided tours in return for a fee. Contrasting with these sites, the Guernica Peace Museum offered a unique chance to study an established and well narrativised site in Spain, in which a well-known episode of the Spanish Civil War is re-enacted. The museum, unlike The Valley of the Fallen and the ruins of Old Belchite, did not seem to create strong controversy despite the controversial nature of the histories present. Like The Valley of the Fallen, the Guernica Peace Museum charged for admission.

The following diagram (figure 5) shows each case study and the rationale behind choosing each of them for this empirical study based on the criteria previously discussed.

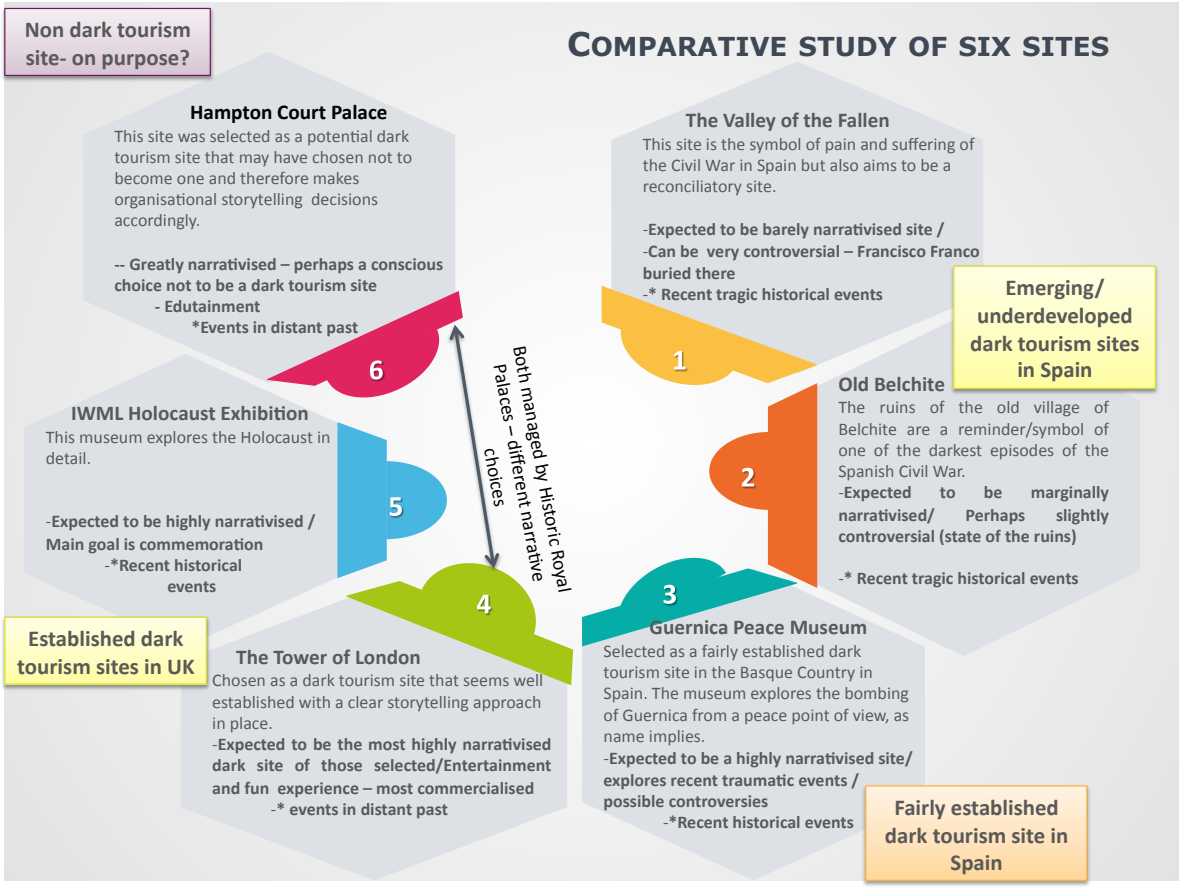


Figure 5. Selected case studies diagram

(Source: Researcher's own. Slide template Showeet.com)

The case selection criteria and the selection itself were an iterative process, which consisted of research design development (i.e., literature review and formulation of research question and objectives), preliminary research into potential dark tourism sites, and pilot studies on some of the selected cases. More importantly, taking a cross-cultural approach- namely, selecting sites located in two different countries allowed for an in-depth exploration of the dependency of storytelling and narratives found in each dark tourism site on the social and historical context, including politics. This comparative perspective allowed for a better understanding of whether organisational storytelling and the issues debated in the dark tourism literature played the same role in every dark tourism site regardless of its location as well as the specific histories it aimed to recreate.

To be more specific, Spain can be considered an emerging dark tourism destination and, therefore, its dark tourism sites do not have a clearly planned and engineered storytelling approach, unlike all three of the UK sites. Furthermore, as Spain is slowly coming on the international dark tourism scene, it does so as a destination with numerous open wounds and traumatic events in its recent past, particularly the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship. Memories of these events are still very much alive across the whole country. Contrast this with the UK, whose recent history does not contain such a widespread conflict that has affected the country as a whole. Without doubt, being a Spaniard myself also played an important part in my choice of Spain as a country and the case studies related to the Spanish Civil War. I wanted to explore not only the storytelling approach at these dark sites but also what it means to be a Spaniard today in a society that has open wounds and how, as a society and as an individual, it is possible to confront a tragic past.

Irrespective of this personal motivation behind the choice of Spain, each case study enabled the study to explore the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of storytelling and narratives in dark tourism sites in a cross-cultural perspective. All six sites had to deal with a dark past. Despite this commonality, they seemed to have made use of this fact in different ways in relation to organising, storytelling and narratives in a dark site. The cross-cultural nature of case selections as well as the specific selection criteria allowed the study to explore and explain these different ways of organising, storytelling, and narratives in dark tourism.

Geographical location of selected dark sites

The following maps show the geographical location of the six sites in this study. As previously mentioned, the chosen dark tourism sites in the UK are all in London (figure 6), whilst the ones chosen in Spain (figure 7) are in three different so called "autonomous communities"- namely, Zaragoza (Belchite), the Basque Country (Guernica) and Madrid (The Valley of the Fallen).

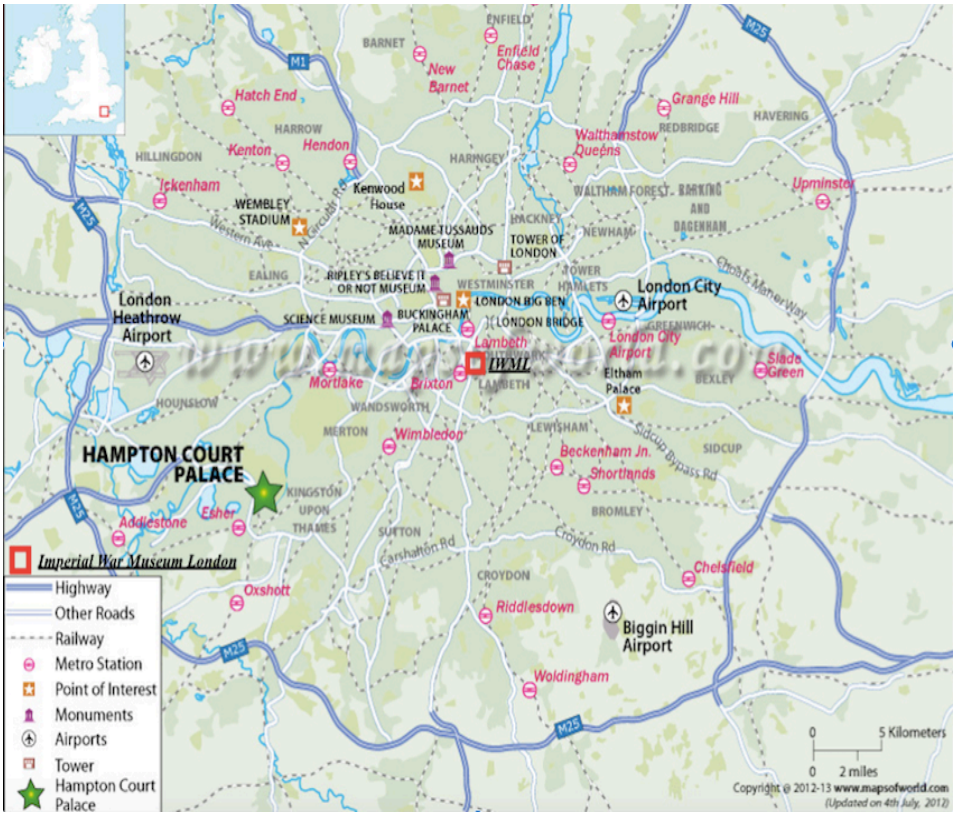


Figure 6. Map of geographical location of UK sites

(Source of map: Mapsofworld, 2012. Modified by researcher)

Figure 7. Map of geographical location of sites in Spain

(Source of map: Mapsofworld, 2014. Modified by researcher)

Pilot Observations

Pilot observations were carried out at four different sites, three in London and one in Spain. These sites were: the Tower of London (2 days), Hampton Court Palace (1 day), the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML (1 day) and The Valley of the Fallen (1 day).

The observations in London and Madrid (Spain) proved extremely useful to test the chosen research methodology and my observational skills. Specially, they helped me get a better understanding of how to collect data at different sites in terms of approaching people and negotiating the site as a seeming visitor but also a researcher. Acting as an ordinary visitor of the sites meant that I could visit these places and experience the same things in the same way that other visitors are meant to do. This gave me a clear understanding of how stories are conveyed to visitors. Furthermore, being able to conduct informal discussions with different people such as employees and visitors at each site meant that I could get insights from informants. These were insights that were not directly visible through observation

and experience of the tours and the site. This was a great learning experience of the importance of triangulation in data collection (Denzin, 2006). It confirmed the necessity of using several data collection methods during my final fieldwork in order to for instance find possible discrepancies among the official and/or managerial views on interpretation, *in situ* interpretation by tour guides or even narrative artefacts. For instance, most dark tourism organisations studied stated that they want to make visitor experience educational, but during observations, sometimes the opposite seemed true (e.g. the Tower of London and the dominance of entertainment over other goals).

Additionally, doing pilot observations confirmed that non-participant observation was the most suitable method for collecting/recording stories and narrativised artefacts found in each site. In terms of the tools used for collecting narrative data, a video camera and a notebook proved to be adequate for this task. I recorded most of the tours at the Tower of London and made pictures of most of the artefacts on display that were relevant for the purposes of this study. However, at the Holocaust Exhibition taking pictures or video is not allowed. Therefore, only a notebook was used and detailed descriptions of the artefacts, narratives and visitors' reactions were made on the spot. Similarly, at The Valley of the Fallen no pictures or video is allowed inside the main Basilica. Consequently, during my observation there I only took notes. The data I collected during the pilot studies helped me develop various different themes to cover during the forthcoming research interviews as well as aspects that I should look out for and explore in greater depth in the final observations at the sites.

To give an example, before doing the pilot observations, I did not reflect on how important the role of the guide and the guided tours could be for the transmission of stories to visitors and how this could shape visitors' overall experience at the site. Furthermore, I noticed that the non-existence of guided tours at some sites such as the Holocaust Exhibition and The Valley of the Fallen might also form part of the overall narrative created by the organisation (i.e. this is a place of sadness and commemoration, not entertainment or edutainment). For this reason, during the final fieldwork I paid close attention to the guided tours and how they were structured as well as which stories were told and which ones were left out of the

tours and the site in general. The latter aspect was observed during the tours as a participant and then followed up on by asking relevant questions during the interviews of representatives of each site and other stakeholders who might have contrasting views of the same events. Likewise, before going for observation to the different dark sites in London, whether children were allowed or not into a site seemed like an irrelevant fact. However, it seems that despite talking about a gruesome past some sites are deemed suitable for children such as the Tower of London, but others are not. In order to find more out about this aspect, I included a question about it in my interview guide in order to understand how, if at all, it affects the way stories are created and conveyed to visitors at these places. In essence, the pilot fieldwork allowed me to analyse some preliminary findings that in turn informed the final fieldwork. The preliminary findings are discussed in the next chapter.

Observations, interviews and access

Observations were carried out at each site for different periods of time, ranging from 2 days at the Guernica Peace Museum to 12 days at The Valley of the Fallen. These observations were normally arranged to coincide with interviews with key informants to make the most out of my stays in different cities such as and London and Zaragoza away from home in Bath and Madrid. The duration of the observations and fieldwork was decided based on the interviews schedule and observational saturation- namely when observation in a site generated repetitive data. In such cases I decided it was time to finish the fieldwork in that site. Another factor, albeit less effective in the observation duration was economic constraints, mainly in those cities where I did not have residence and could not afford to stay too long. Nevertheless, despite some sites being observed for fewer days such as the Guernica Peace Museum, I was able to collect and capture saturated data for my research objectives. The following tables show the final observational schedule in the UK (Table 1) and Spain (Table 2) in more detail.

Case Study	Location	Date of Pilot observation	Date of Research visits- including interviews	Total duration of visitation in days
Tower of London	London, UK	May 2011	November 2011 February 2012 March 2012	5 days
Hampton Court Palace	London, UK	May 2011	June 2012 March 2013	3 days
Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum London	London, UK	April 2011	September 2011 March 2013 – visit to head office as IWMLwas closed for renovation	3 days

Table 1. Fieldwork schedule in the UK

Case Study	Location	Date of Pilot observation	Date of Research visits- including interviews	Total duration of visitation in days
The Valley of the Fallen	Madrid, Spain	December, 2010	December 2011 May 2012 September 2012 October 2012 December 2013	12 days
Ruins of Belchite	Zaragoza, Spain		September 2012 October 2012 Summer 2014 (Via email)	7 days
Peace Museum Guernica	Guernica, Spain		December 2012	2 days

Table 2. Fieldwork Schedule in Spain

The interviewees were chosen according to their involvement with each of the sites studied. They included employees and curators of the sites, and other stakeholders. The reason for interviewing not only employees of the organisations but also other stakeholders was to find out how the official stories were contested and to what extent these contestations influenced what the organisation conveys at each site. All interviews were semi-structured. These are conversations with a purpose (Burgess, 1984). The purpose was to "yield a vast amount of rich information" (Adams *et al.* 2007, p145) about the issues of organising and managing a dark tourism site and the reason behind using particular storytelling approaches and within. Most interviews lasted around one and a half hours, except those in Old

Belchite that were conducted while walking around the site and, therefore, lasted several hours.

At a more technical level, by using traditional ethnographic methods of data recording such as note taking during fieldwork at different sites or case studies (Spradley, 1979; Emerson *et al.;* 1995), this study aimed to overcome certain difficulties in some selected dark sites such as the ban on using electronic recording devices inside the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML. Otherwise, digital recording devices, i.e., voice recorder and a camera, were used for audio and visual data. However, at some sites taking notes was not possible such as in Old Belchite where most interviews happened during walks around the ruins, as stated before. In such situations, the voice recorder was placed in my pocket after consent was given by the interviewees to record them.

Moreover, finding interviewees was mainly thanks to word of mouth and contacts between informants (snowballing). Snowballing can be described as the process in which one subject gives the researcher the name of another and they in turn provide a name of a third and a chain is formed (Bryman, 2008, p184). Thanks to this technique, I managed to arrange different interviews with relevant stakeholders both in the UK and Spain, some of whom had actually declined my interview requests made in the first instance without any snowballing effect. Snowballing also helped me gain access to those organisations that systematically denied me the opportunity to interview a representative before (for example Patrimonio Nacional in Spain). Besides, it also gave me the chance to talk to several people who would not have spoken to me otherwise (for example the villagers in Belchite).

The structure and content of the interviews all followed a similar pattern and thematic structure but were tailored according to the site and the interviewee in question. Before each interview, I prepared a list of questions, but these were not always asked in the same order as planned. For instance, some interviewees would bring up a topic that did not come up in my questions until later. In order to keep the conversation going and get as much information as possible, I would immediately bring up the question that was related to that topic, instead of following the original question order. Similarly, when conducting a particular sensitive interview, for example with a person who suffered greatly during the Spanish Civil War in

Belchite, I would have to sometimes leave aside my research questions and ask other non-related questions, such as their relatives' names or profession, to try to show sympathy for their pain and loss. Regarding the questions asked during the interviews with managers, they mainly covered the following topics (See Appendix 1 for an example of interview questions with a curator):

- Organisation's general aims/objectives as well as in general and site specific aims/objectives
- Storytelling and interpretive approach
- Silenced voices or stories? Stakeholders and whether taken into account and if so, how?
- Devising tourist experiences – Edutainment? Commemoration?
- Main challenges and opportunities about interpreting the past as well as possible controversies related to the stories
- Organisations' perceptions about their visitors and whether this influences decisions taken about the site
- Ethical considerations

Similarly, the interviews with stakeholders, who are not directly related to the management of the dark tourism sites such as representatives of different associations or survivors, included questions about subjects as explained below (see Appendix 2 for an example of interview questions with other stakeholders).

- Opinions about the management and storytelling approach at the sites
- Their personal stories and connection with each site
- Views on the particular sites being open to tourists

The following sections give details about the interviewees and interviews in the UK and Spain. For each interviewee a brief explanation of their role and their affiliation or connection to the particular site is given, as well as any other relevant information related to the interview, e.g., the place/circumstance of interview (during a tour, at home). In addition to the interviews, I had some informal discussions-

namely, conversations that happened by chance with some stakeholders, which also provided relevant and useful data for this study. Hence, I have also included them in this study and in the following sections.

Interviews and informal discussions in the UK

Prospective interviewees for each of the sites in the UK were contacted via email at the beginning of 2012. At the same time, and while waiting for possible informants to come back to me, I attended The Challenging History Conference in London from the 23rd to the 25th of February 2012. I knew representatives from Historic Royal Palaces and Imperial War Museums would be present at the conference as these organisations were the event organisers. This occasion turned out to be fundamental in getting data about some of the sites explored in this research. It also gave me the opportunity to talk to people whom I did not have the chance to speak to afterwards. For example, despite several attempts to interview the head of the education department of the Tower of London, this was eventually impossible. However during the conference, I was able to speak to him and he answered some of my questions during an informal discussion.

Additionally and at a later date, the Head of Access and Learning at Historic Royal Palaces was able to give me further information about the Tower of London during our interview at Hampton Court Palace, which was the site I was interviewing him about. Regarding the Holocaust Exhibition at IMWL I initially contacted several prospective interviewees via email and was told that interviews are not something they usually do but they were more than happy to send me some documents regarding the exhibition. However, after my email was 'passed around' different people, one of the exhibition's chief curators agreed to see me at their head office near the museum. This person is no longer working for the Imperial War Museums as she moved to another institution some weeks after our interview in 2013. The following table identifies each individual interviewee in the UK and explains their involvement with each site.

Interviews and informal discussions in UK	
Informal discussion with Education Manager at the Tower of London Individual demographics: Male, 42 years, British	Informal discussion during the three-day conference Challenging History in London, from the 23rd to the 25th of February 2012 as well as attendance to his conference presentation titled "Developing the challenging history approach at the Tower of London" on the 24th of February 2012. Informal discussion date: 24th of February 2012
Informal discussions with Yeoman Warder and Shop Assistant at Shop inside the Tower of London Demographics Yeoman Warder: Male, Approximately 65 years, British Demographics Shop assistant: Female, Approximately 56 years, British	---------- After I took the first Yeoman tour on the 8th of May 2011, I was able to have a very brief discussion with the Yeoman Warder. During this brief encounter he suggested I buy the book written by another Yeoman Warder, Geoffrey Abbott (2003). This book covers all the grisly stories of the Tower of London in the voice of the aforementioned Yeoman. During my second visit to the site on the 14th of November 2011, I had a brief discussion with one shop assistant and she was able to give me information about the grisly toys sold in their shops.

Historic Royal Palaces[3] **Head of Access and Learning** Interviewee demographics: Male, 60 years, British	Working for Historic Royal Palaces and therefore involved with all sites managed by this organisation, but he is mainly based at Hampton Court Palace. Interview date: 7th of March 2013
Imperial War Museum London **Holocaust Exhibition**[4] **curator** Interviewee demographics: Female, 34 years, British	One of the curators of the Holocaust Exhibition until April 2013. She was fully involved with the exhibition, from the display of the artefacts, to investigating, finding and acquiring new materials e.g., pictures and personal objects and stories for the exhibition. Interview date: 14th of March 2013

Table 3. Interviewees and informal discussions - UK

Despite the small number of interviews and informal discussions in the UK, they were all carried out with key figures that have shaped or overseen the creation and/or management of these sites. Furthermore, because most sites in the UK are established tourist attractions, it was possible to support my interview data with published official information and with my own observations at the sites. When it comes to stakeholders in the UK such as victims associations, it became apparent from my pilot fieldwork that the respective histories of Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London are too far back in time and not amenable to strong public controversies and formation of such stakeholders. In the case of the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML, no controversies or other stakeholders were noticeable during my pilot fieldwork. Also, the interviewed curator of the IWML's Holocaust Exhibition told me that getting in contact with survivors of the Holocaust is very

[3] HRP Head of Access and Learning henceforth
[4] IWML Holocaust Exhibition henceforth

complicated even for an organisation like Imperial War Museums (Interview, 14 March 2013). In Spain though, I did not have to look specifically for controversies and stakeholders as such because they were already out there visible to everyone.

Interviews and informal discussions in Spain

In order to arrange interviews in Spain, I initially contacted via email wide range of people who are involved with the sites in one way or another. Because my family lives in Madrid I decided early on that I would start my interviews and research there, before moving on to Old Belchite and Guernica where I had to arrange transportation and accommodation. Overall, I was able to arrange a few more interviews and informal discussion in Spain compared to the UK.

Patrimonio Nacional, the organisation that manages The Valley of the Fallen, was one of the first to reply to my emails, informing me that I could not interview any of their employees, as this is something they do not usually do but they gave me permission to access the site as many times as I needed. Also, I had contacted the monks living at the site via email and later by phone to request an interview but I was not successful. It was finally thanks to the intervention of one of Patrimonio Nacional's employee at the site that I was granted an interview with one of the monks. It was during my first pilot observation period when I approached this Patrimonio Nacional employee (2), who was one of the two visitor supervisors in the Valley's basilica. These employees answered visitors' questions and made sure no photography was taken in the Basilica. This encounter would fortunately start a snowball effect and allow me to arrange interviews with some interviewees who had previously rejected my requests.

After our conversation, this Patrimonio employee (2) told me she would talk to Father Santiago Cantera (Father Cantera henceforth), according to her the youngest and friendliest monk, and put a 'good word' for me so I could interview him, and handed me his phone number. By then I was not fully aware of how this first step would open the doors to many other interviews that would follow. The very next day I phoned Father Cantera. After he confirmed that the worker had spoken to him about me, we arranged a date for the interview. Right after the interview was over, Father Cantera gave me the personal phone number of a university professor who was writing his PhD thesis about the site and said, "tell him you are coming

with my recommendation and he would be happy to talk to you" (Interview, 18 December 2011). Interestingly, I had emailed this professor previously for an interview but had got no response from him. However, after Father Cantera's recommendation, the professor was more than willing to talk to me arguing, "anyone coming with the recommendation of Father Cantera would be always welcome by him" (Interview, 8 May 2012).

When I met another interviewee, i.e., Pablo Linares, the head of the Association for the Defence of The Valley of the Fallen in October 2012, I did not know how involved he was with not only the site but also many stakeholders (both supporters and detractors of the site). It was thanks to Mr. Linares that I was able to interview a Patrimonio Nacional representative, who was a good friend of Mr. Linares. When I told this representative that my previous email requests for an interview were turned down several times by the organisation, he said that 'rejection is automatic and that such requests do not even go through the secretary' (Interview 14 October 2012). While these accounts show the great use snowballing technique had for this study, the following tables show the final interviewees[5], as well as a short explanation of their relation with each site.

Interviews and informal discussions - The Valley of the Fallen	
Patrimonio Nacional's employee (1) inside the Basilica Individual demographics: Female, approximately 60, Spanish	An informal discussion with this Patrimonio Nacional employee at The Valley of the Fallen. Despite the conversation being very brief (less than 10 min) I was able to get some interesting information about the site and its visitors and thus I have included this here. Brief conversation date: 12th December 2011
Patrimonio Nacional's employee (2) inside the Basilica Individual demographics: Female, approximately 50 years, Spanish	This informal discussion started a

[5] Please note that if an interviewee is named, this means that they have given verbal consent to appear in the thesis with their names.

	snowballing effect after she 'put in a good word' for me so that I could interview one of the monks from the Benedictine order living at The Valley. Informal discussion date: 15th December 2011
Father Santiago Cantera[6] Interviewee demographics: Male, 47 years Spanish (Madrid)	One of the monks who live there. He usually deals with the press and is responsible for the online presence of this Benedictine order (Official web page and social media presence). He is also a teacher at the religious school for boys on the site. Father Cantera is the youngest monk of the order and this is the reason, according to him, why he is so "involved with new technology and why he is also the spokesperson for the Benedictine order" Interview date: 18th of December 2011
Professor Alberto Barcena Interviewee demographics: Male, 64 years, Spanish (Madrid)	University history professor. Obtained his PhD in 2013 and his thesis explored the conditions of the workers at The Valley of the Fallen during and after its construction. He also classified and categorised more than 1000 documents related to the site over a period of five years. He believes that these documents provide corroborated historical facts that should be used to "demystify The Valley of the Fallen and to put an end to all the lies that have been said about not only the site, but the people that built it" Interview date: 8th of May 2012

[6] Despite being the youngest monk of the Benedictine community at the site, he is now, since September 2014 the Abbott of the order, in other words the maximum religious and administrative authority of the order (Association for the Defence of The Valley of the Fallen newsletter, 20th September 2014)

Mr. Fausto Canales Interviewee demographics: Male, 70 years, Spanish (Zaragoza) **Mrs. Silvia Navarro** Interviewee demographics: Female, 43 years, Spanish (Zaragoza)	Mr. Canales and Mrs. Navarro are the co-founders and current co-heads of the Association of Relatives pro Exhumation of Republicans from The Valley[7] (APERV), which is an umbrella association for several smaller associations around Spain that share a common plea- namely: "To exhume the remains of their Republican relatives from The Valley of the Fallen so that they can be returned to the families." These associations do not have any governmental support and are mainly funded by the families involved and sympathisers. Mr. Canales and Mrs. Navarro were interviewed together. Interview date: 20th of September 2012
Mr. Pablo Linares Interviewee demographics: Male, 45 years, Spanish (Madrid)	Founder and head of the Association for the Defence of The Valley of the Fallen[8] (ADVF). Mr Linares became attached to the site and the Benedictine order for personal reasons in the 1980s and has been coming to the site at least five times a week since then. He has a special permit from the monks to access the site at any time and as many times as he wants. He is also permitted access to those areas that are only accessible to Patrimonio Nacional staff. In 2009 he founded the ADVF after years of "reading, watching and feeling the constant harassment of the press, political parties and other associations to The Valley of the Fallen and the

[7] APERV henceforth
[8] ADVF henceforth

	Benedictine order for no reason". Hence, he felt the need to "defend" both of them. He has written and published two books and produced a documentary about the site, all of them available through the ADVF official web page and one or two small retailers only. Mr. Linares himself and sympathisers privately fund this association. Interview date: 11th of October 2012
Patrimonio Nacional's representative Interviewee demographics: Male, 56 years, Spanish (Madrid)	Patrimonio Nacional's representative for El Escorial and The Valley of the Fallen, both of which are managed by Patrimonio Nacional. He is mainly based at El Escorial Monastery (5 miles from The Valley), where his office is based. Although he is responsible for both sites, he rarely goes to The Valley of the Fallen because he claims there is "not much they can do there on a daily basis". Interview date: 14th of October 2012
Vice-president of the Francisco Franco Foundation [9] Interviewee demographics: Male, 74 years, Spanish (Madrid)	He has been the vice-president of FFF since the FFF's foundation in 1976, a year after Francisco Franco died. In 1976, FFF published their first book titled: "The reasons why The Valley of the Fallen was constructed" in which they also explain the "great deeds of Francisco Franco, a great Spaniard" (FFF, 1976, p5). This privately founded organisation, dedicated to the memory of Francisco Franco, claims that they are not

[9] FFF henceforth

	affiliated with any political party or ideology but that their main aim is to "defend the truth [about Francisco Franco] on the following front: the historical character and its legacy [with the use of] official documents and facts" (FFF Website) They have a library with thousands of documents and books open to researchers (but only by appointment). They want to open a Museum of Francisco Franco that would do a "service to the history of Spain [and] make new generations aware of the truth" Interview: 22nd of October 2012

Table 4. Interviewees and informal discussions - The Valley of the Fallen

Interviews and informal discussions - Old Belchite	
Official Tour Guide and Head of Belchite Tourism since mid-2013 Interviewee demographics: Male, 40 years, Spanish (Zaragoza)	I interviewed the official tour guide while doing a private tour tailored to researchers around the ruins of Old Belchite. The price of the tour was 60 Euros. Although being very young, he seemed very passionate about the ruins and their history, as he has lived in the village his whole life. He lost several relatives during the siege of Belchite. He wrote a tourism development proposal for the ruins in 2008 and presented it to the municipality. While this proposal was under consideration, the municipality decided to name him official tour guide (but not salaried, hence charging for tours), making him the only person in Belchite officially approved to take tourists around the ruins. In 2013 the project was finally approved and a new organisation named Belchite Tourism was created to manage and regulate the ruins of Belchite as a tourist

	destination. The official tour guide interviewed is, to this date, both the head of Belchite Tourism and the only tour guide. Interview and tour date: 29th of September 2012 Email Communication: 11th October 2012 Email communication: 4th of September 2014
Former Mayor of Belchite Interviewee demographics: Male, 74 years, Spanish (Zaragoza)	Interview and tour around the ruins He was the mayor of Belchite for more than 20 years and managed to secure European funding for the restoration of Old Belchite towards the end of his term as the mayor in 2004. However, the money never made it to Belchite as the succeeding mayor belonged to a different political party that decided Old Belchite should remain as it was, and refused to get the funding. The former mayor also travelled to the Guernica Peace Museum in 2003, as they wanted to open a similar one in Belchite. This plan never materialised. Interview and tour date: 2nd of October 2012
Old Man – Belchite Survivor (and his family) Interviewee demographics: Male, 85 years, Spanish (Zaragoza)	A survivor who was exiled to France with his family after the conflict in Belchite started. He was 10 years old when he left Belchite and it took him and his family 8

	months to make it safely to France, as they had to walk there. Some years after the Civil War finished, he came back to Spain for good. Note: His wife, two sons and their wives were also present during the interview as it happened at his home. Interview date: 30th of September 2012
Old Man (France) – Belchite Survivor. Cousin of the interviewee above. Interviewee demographics: Male, 83 years, Spanish (With French citizenship)	Exiled with his family, including his cousin (interviewee above), after the conflict in Belchite started. This 30-minute interview was done via telephone from the Old Man's house after he insisted I talk to his cousin too. Interview date: 30th of September 2012
Association for the Recovery of Memory and Investigation against Oblivion in Aragon (ARICO[10]) **Head of the association and colleagues**	This association belongs to the umbrella APERV. It was Silvia Navarro, the co-head of APERV, who directed me to ARICO and its head, based in Zaragoza. However, he and his two colleagues did not want to be formally interviewed. Nevertheless, we had several informal discussions during my time with them. The reason I include him and his colleagues in this interviewees list is that they were a key figure of my fieldwork in Belchite as it was through their intervention and contacts in the village that I was able to interview the Old Man of Belchite and his family, as well as the Old Woman of Belchite.
Informal discussion Old Woman of Belchite Interviewee demographics: Female, 79 years, Spanish (Zaragoza)	This woman was a child when the war started. Her family suffered greatly during and after the conflict. The brief informal discussion happened by chance

[10] ARICO - Asociacion por la Recuperacion e Investigacion Contra el Olvido de Aragon.

	at the door of her house, as she knew one of the members of ARICO and he explained my research to her. This informal discussion has been included in the research because this woman shared her story of sadness, grief and suffering during the war with me and also had an opinion about what should be done with the ruins of Belchite. Despite perhaps marginal, I wanted her voice and her story to be heard. Also I considered it important to use her as another example of what the residents of Belchite think of Belchite's past and future Informal discussion date: 30th of September 2012
Informal discussion with Members of Extremist Parties/Associations	These members of different extremist parties were having a special Mass 'for their dead' in the ruins of Old Belchite on the 29th of September 2012 when I was in the ruins with the official tour guide. I also had the chance to speak to some of these people, although they did not allow me or the official guide to stay for the mass as they considered this a private matter. They were quite adamant that I should not take any pictures or video of what they were doing. After the site has been re-developed from mid-2013 these types of events such as political demonstrations and private masses are not possible since the ruins of Old Belchite have been enclosed and are not accessible at all times as they used to be. According to Belchite Tourism, stopping such events has been a positive thing for the ruins, as this organisation and Belchite's municipality wanted to make the site a 'purely touristic place, without attachment to any political ideologies or groups (Email communication Belchite

	Tourism, 4 September 2014)
Informal discussion with Santiago – Unofficial Guide Individual demographics: Male, 65 years, Spanish (Zaragoza)	I encountered Santiago at the main entrance of Old Belchite while waiting for the official guide with whom I was going to do a guided tour. Santiago told me that he was tired of always seeing tourists walking around not knowing where to go so he decided to make himself a private guide and at the same time get some tips from tourists. Since the site has been enclosed from mid-2013, only official guides are allowed to take tourists around the ruins and therefore unofficial guides like Santiago can no longer take visitors around the site. Informal discussion date: 29th of September 2012

Table 5. Interviewees and informal discussions – Old Belchite

Interviews – Guernica Peace Museum	
Guernica Peace Museum's Director Interviewee demographics: Female, 46 years, Spanish (Basque Country)	Director and chief curator of the Guernica Peace Museum and part of the founding committee. She was initially given a research grant by the local municipality to study in detail the bombing of Guernica by collecting and analysing all available documentation related to this event in Spain and abroad. Years later, she was given the task of devising, managing and opening the Guernica Peace Museum by the municipality and regional government. Interview date: 20th of December 2012
Head of Archive and Documentation Centre at Guernica Peace Museum Interviewee demographics: Female, 49 years, Spanish (Basque Country)	Head of the Guernica Peace Museum Archive and Documentation Centre. She is also the point of contact for any researcher wanting to find more out about the bombing of Guernica. She has been working in the museum since it's opening. Interview date: 20th of December 2012
Head of the Education Department at Guernica Peace Museum Interviewee demographics: Female, 42 years, Spanish (Basque Country)	Head of the Education Department at Guernica Peace Museum. Her duties include devising educational visits for children, and activities and exhibitions to involve the local community. She is also responsible for the social media presence of the Peace Museum. Interview date: 20th December 2012

Table 6. Interviews - Guernica Peace Museum

Reflexivity and Personal Diary

"One advantage in keeping a diary is that you become aware with reassuring clarity of the changes which you constantly suffer and which in a general way are naturally believed, surmised, and admitted by you…" (Kafka, 1988)

Given the nature of the topic investigated in this study, during the research process, the most challenging thing was to remain totally neutral and aseptic at all times, even while listening to certain political or religious ideas I do not necessarily agree with. But, not taking any sides does not imply being detached from the situation. It means being able to remain empathic while listening to other people's views, experiences and ideas (Patton, 2002). This entails that as a researcher, I had to keep an open mind to be able to "accept as valid any motive or action, despite it might be criticisable, go against [the researcher's] ideology or principles and even if it is morally unacceptable" (Coller, 2000, p63). However, maintaining this "affective neutrality" (ibid) was hard at times, mainly while listening to particular personal stories' of loss and suffering or talking to people who, in my mind, were quite extreme in their ideologies. In spite of this, I would always show my interest by carefully listening to them and more importantly, doing my best to understand what they were saying by recognising the context in which things were being said and by whom. Nevertheless, dealing with personal stories and issues is something that happens quite frequently mainly in qualitative studies and it would be naïve to think that I would not have "an emotional response [or] memories or nightmares activated through contact with the traumas and violence that others experience" (Gilgun, 2008 as quoted in Gilgun, 2010, p62)

In this vein, before I started my fieldwork I prepared myself for the possible unpleasant and tragic stories I was going to hear, see and made aware of. I understood very early on that it could get quite emotional at times, mainly when talking to victims or people directly related to the dark history of a site, for instance Belchite in Spain. Furthermore, some topics are always hard to study, even if studied from a distance such as the Holocaust. Visiting the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML as a researcher did not make the whole experience any easier as even after the second visit I felt quite sickened once I left the building after spending several hours inside. Nevertheless, not all experiences were negative as there were several opportunities of fun on top of the researcher duties. For example, the Yeoman guided tours at the

Tower of London were very entertaining and although I did it twice, I found both tours equally enjoyable. Nevertheless, I was also aware that I would have to be aware of my emotions, both as a researcher and as an individual, and also question them to understand how they were associated with the stories and other aspects of the observation sites. This was very helpful to understand how visitors might feel and how these might shape the way stories are experienced at dark tourism sites and more generally how experiences are organised within with these narrative related aspects.

Even if not consciously, all the different feelings and emotions I had over the course of the research could affect my decisions and the research as a whole. To be reflexive about these feelings and emotions, I kept a handwritten personal diary, aside of the fieldwork diary. This diary helped me to not only pour my personal feelings in it, but also realise how much and in what ways I was being affected by some of the collected data and in turn how I could be affecting the data because of my own cultural background. For instance, after talking to some of the survivors of the Civil War in Spain I felt the need to express my feeling of sadness, anger and even grief for the terrible experiences they had been through and the relatives they had lost. But was this only because I am Spanish? I do not think so because; I felt the same malaise, if not more, for example, after watching the videos of the Holocaust survivors' testimonies or seeing graphic images at the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML. Therefore, writing a personal diary helped me reflect on my experiences as both a researcher and a human being, who expresses emotions in the face of other humans' suffering.

The following section shows a page of the personal diary that was written after what I consider was one of the hardest days of the fieldwork because it turned out to be very emotional and in many ways epitomize the above-discussed aspects:

Personal Diary 30th of September 2012

After arriving in the village with my contact and two of his friends, I was feeling rather nervous as on the way they had already warned me that speaking to people would be difficult as no-one wants to speak about the past and even less to an 'outsider'. It was also during the car ride from Zaragoza to Belchite that they asked

me several times why I wanted to study things related to the Civil War, whether I had lost a relative or was looking for a relative and whether I was just plain mad, all these asked as if they were trying to make sense of my interest in the matter as an 'stranger' to the matter. However, their attitude soon changed after I explained my research to them and they even expressed they were really happy that someone was taking an interest in studying the Civil War.

Finally, one and a half hours later we arrive in Belchite. Luckily, one of these contacts comes from a village next to Belchite and he and his family are well known in their village and surrounding areas. He had assured me that he would find people to talk to me 'even if we have to knock on every door', and this is almost what we did at the end. He would knock on a house and ask for someone he knew and whether we could speak to them. However, the moment they found out about me almost everyone declined the request, arguing they did not want to 'appear in a magazine' (perhaps assuming I was a reporter rather than a researcher) or 'we already had enough civil war we don't want to talk anymore'. They even closed doors and windows behind them; did they think we were going to jump through the window? I really felt like an outsider and I think if I was on my own it would have been impossible to even approach people. Also, I was well aware that people were reluctant to talk about the Spanish Civil War, but never to such extent.

I had almost given hope when we finally got to talk to a woman that knew my contact's family well. She stood in her porch and at first seemed quite reluctant but soon opened up and told us her stories. My contact asked me if I wanted to record this conversation but I thought that would make her feel uncomfortable and perhaps she won't open up as much as she finally did. I did however write everything I remember vividly once I was back in the car. The conversation with this woman was one of the hardest to hear so far during my fieldwork. She told me in harrowing detail how her brother was beaten up incessantly along the streets of the village while being taken to prison for being a 'red' or republican. It was very hard for me to see how emotional she got remembering the pain of seeing her brother suffering so much and how, when she tried to intervene, the militants had threatened her that they would do the same to her if she did not stop interfering. I found myself trying to hold back the tears in several instances and had to remind myself that I was there, as a researcher and I should try to take in as much as I could. One of the last things she

said is that the ruins of Belchite should be destroyed because for her and others like her it is just a reminder of the pain and grief that they had suffered.

[….]

That same evening of the 30th of September we had arranged an interview with a survivor of the Battle of Belchite who fled to France with his family during the first days of the conflict. […] Despite thinking it would be him and me alone, we ended up being more than ten people in his living room. His wife, sons and daughter in law, as well as the three people who were accompanying me. However, rather than making it harder, this impromptu group interview only made the interview richer and I was able to get much more information than I had anticipated. Not only that, but they were kind enough to phone another relative living in France who also fled with my interviewee so I could ask him any questions I wanted. Overall, we were in the Old Man's house for around three hours in total and at the end the family had invited me to come and stay with them whenever I wanted and even hugged and kissed me. I felt really good and this made me forget about how much of an outsider I had been feeling all day.

[…]

Diary 4Th of October

The 30th of September was by far the most challenging day of my time in Belchite, and perhaps of the fieldwork so far, both emotionally and logistically. I think I won't have a day like it again. Hearing the personal stories of survivors and their families has been harder than I thought, despite my mental preparation beforehand. Seeing an 84-year-old man cry because of the suffering his family went through or an old woman holding back the tears when remembering how she and her sisters held onto a hospital bed when republican soldiers, who killed her, husband tried to take her away to prison is something no amount of preparation can help you deal with. At night once back at my hotel and re-reading my notes I can't help but shed tears and finally release all that emotional tension I had accumulated during the day. It is now that I realise this research might affect me more than I have ever anticipated. In my mind I had not only all the testimonies but also a single question; Why? Why? Why?

While I was in Spain it was hard at times to balance being both an insider (being Spanish) and an outsider (researcher). Furthermore, as a person from a family that did not suffer much during the Spanish Civil War (no victims of the conflict in my close family), I felt like a 'double outsider'. Interviewees frequently asked me whether I had lost any relatives during the Civil War or whether I was looking for someone buried in an unknown grave, as they could not comprehend my interest in this matter otherwise. Even my own family and friends questioned me several times about my interest and reasons for studying something related to the Civil War and even more so about my reasons for choosing a controversial site like The Valley of the Fallen. Despite being aware that in Spain there has been over the years a certain reticence to talk, study or even mention the Spanish Civil War, it was surprising to realise to what extent this is still the case today (for example in Belchite as previously described). What is more, this research journey has also given the opportunity to find more about my grandmother and her family and how they lived and experienced the war, and still do to this day.

Additionally, talking to different stakeholders was an eye opener as to how some people feel about the conflict and how relevant it is still to them to this day. However, at the same time it was hard to always remain objective, apolitical and even unemotional at all times. For instance, during my private visit of Old Belchite I stumbled upon a small group of people from the most extreme right wing parties of Spain who were about to carry out, according to one of them, a mass for their own dead (meaning those who died during the battle of Belchite who supported extreme right wing ideologies). This was the first time in my life I encountered such people and the first time I saw up close uniforms (such as that of the Falangists – Franco's supporters) that I had only seen in history books until then. When they saw me with the official tour guide they became verbally aggressive at first, as they thought we were reporters. However after we cordially talked to some of them and assured them that no pictures were going to be taken, they explained what they were doing and what their political views and their thoughts on the state of Old Belchite were. In sum, during this research I have had the opportunity to talk to many different people with very diverse ideologies but I did not become involved in political (or any other) debate with any of them to avoid bringing up my own subjective beliefs or impromptu arguments. On the contrary, such a restraint on my part did not seem

necessary at all while I was conducting my fieldwork in the UK. This is because my case studies in the UK compared to the ones in Spain conspicuously lacked similar controversies or differences of opinions, which might have led to certain reactions on my part.

Undoubtedly, the overall research experience has changed my view about not only dark tourism and dark tourism organisations but also their history by making it more 'real'. The same way visitors experience history in the dark places where it happened, I experienced history through the people involved, especially in Spain. The details in the stories, the emotional tone, the tears some interviewees shed confirmed my initial thought that the sites I am exploring are not only dark tourism sites but also highly emotionally charged places as stated before. However, such an emotionally intense and confusing experience did not take place in the UK, with the exception of my study of the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML. Even in that site, the level of development and the way overall narrative was presented made this emotional experience still very intense but much less confusing. The personal diary alongside my observation data helped me record these different dimensions of the organising, storytelling and the narrative experience in the selected dark sites, which could not be accessible with a single data collection method, such as interviews, and if I had not been reflective on my data collection experiences.

Transcription, translation and data analysis

Data analysis, as in most qualitative studies, took place by transcribing and coding the interviews and field notes, and analysing them according to specific topics relevant to the research. To name several of them: meaning creation via storytelling and informants' views on the explored topics; how these stories and views are shaped and contested by different stakeholders; and how grand and contested national narratives and political ideologies behind these sites affect the narrativised dark tourism outcomes and experiences as observed during the fieldwork.

As I was collecting data I started doing some preliminary analysis, such as going through my notes and listening to interviews, to identify prevailing themes and topics for further investigation without aiming for a full scale transcription or content analysis. Once all the data had been collected, the first step in the final analysis

process was to get to know the data I had collected and "get a sense of the whole" (Patton, 2002, p441). This was done by re-reading my fieldwork and personal diary and listening to each interview. This first overall reading of all the data allowed me to understand which parts of the collected data were going to be relevant for the research and which things I could leave out. For instance, during the interview with the Old Man of Belchite, we were interrupted several times to be offered coffee or because someone else would come into the room. All these instances were not transcribed.

After the first overall reading, I transcribed all the interviews to begin the initial coding process. Also, if in Spanish, the interviews were translated to English by me. Rather than interpreting what they said during this process of translation and transcription, I tried to keep the 'message' of the interviewer through literal transcription and translation, including leaving any grammatical mistakes, incomplete sentences or use of colloquialisms. This was particularly important as I wanted to not only listen to what was being said but also hear it (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). This entailed looking at not only the literal meaning but also what lies beneath such as emotions, hidden messages and particular agendas.

Coming back to the transcription process, it started by listening to each interview once without transcribing anything but merely listening to what was being said, and assessing the quality of the recording. During this first listening, I would also have a piece of paper with me to note all those things I thought were extraordinary or not expected. I also noted possible future themes I could use for the final data analysis. After this, each interview was transcribed and later checked for accuracy by listening to each recording at least twice. Moreover, each interview was given a name code and stored both in a computer and an external data storage device. Once transcriptions were finalised, I used my observation data and personal diary to complement the interviews and fill in information that was not necessarily obvious on the recording such as an interviewee's facial expressions, gestures and any other relevant 'outside' material. This information was noted either by inserting brackets right beside the moment this was happening or on the margins of the page.

Once I had all the data ready for analysis, I decided that the best approach for analysing it was to print them and use different coloured pens as well as margin annotations (see appendix 3 for an example of an analysed interview page). Also,

since I was the only researcher and person involved with the collected data, I was very careful to be as consistent and systematic as possible all the way through. To this end and before I started the data analysis for each interview, I created a theme colour-coding technique and map that was to be my guide when manually analysing each interview, my fieldwork notes and personal diary. The codes were informed by the most recurrent words that I picked upon after the initial reading of all the collected data. During the first readings of my data I looked for key words referring to aspects including positive and negative emotions (e.g., fear, shock, sadness, horror, happiness, forgiveness); stories (including characters – for example perpetrator, villain, victim or survivor – embellishments – fabricated or exaggerated facts - or silences – what stories were not told); storytelling (how the stories are told and by whom); and last but not least any artefacts or objects used (e.g., posters, fliers, audios and videos amongst others)

An equally significant aspect of this research is that it is not a narrow narrative collection and analysis but a study that uses storytelling as a framework to understand the formation, organisation, maintenance, and challenges of dark tourism sites as well as how visitors' experiences are devised by the organisations responsible for their management. In this vein, observation, interview and secondary data were collected and thematically classified and analysed to explore these organisational dynamics. However, for the collection and analysis of narrativised dark tourism site products, stories told, posters, videos, audios and guided tours to name some, the study used the following narrative components based on Miller's (2011, p3) summary for coding and analysis of narrative data:

- **Storyline (plot)** – as discussed in the literature review, "a plot is able to weave together a complex of events to make a single story" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p18-9). This is a particularly important aspect for the study of not just specific stories collected at dark tourism sites but also which stories are told and in what ways (emplotment). These story-specific and site-wide storylines (plots) can give clues to the ultimate aims and goals of the dark tourism organisations and the overall narrative experience they present. For example, at The Valley of the Fallen by not telling certain stories it seems that the aim of the

organisation is to keep the site aseptic and away from a dissident heritage state.

- **Objects** (for example clothing, costumes) as well as **narrativised artefacts** (for example posters, videos, audios, fliers) are very important for any dark tourism site as they have their own semiotics- they convey a narrative/message of their own. Furthermore, other physical aspects at each site, for instance lighting, re-created/fictional environments, and how the site is laid out are also explored as these also have semiotic impact on how the site is experienced by visitors (as reviewed in the literature and seen/felt during the observations and confirmed by some of the interviewees such as the curator of the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML).

- **Emotions** and **Theme.** The emotional element of dark tourism, as stated before, is crucial to the overall experience. Not only are the emotions within the collected stories explored, but also the emotional aim of the organisational behind the stories with questions such as 'Are visitors to feel empathy for the characters, happy, scared?'; 'And if so, why?'. This emotional aspect is linked to the theme aspect of the stories (overall moral of the story). The different emotions of not only the story characters but also those of visitors (i.e., how visitors are supposed to feel) according to the organisation are integral aspects of organising at dark tourism sites. This emotional aspect in line with the overall storyline organised by dark tourism organisations usually determines what types of story themes (e.g., Epic, Tragic and Comic in Gabriel, 1999) are conveyed at dark tourism sites.

- **Narrator/s' point**- who is telling the story at the site? And **Narrator/s tone of voice, attitude** (i.e. informal, humorous, sombre) - This is a key aspect when it comes to understanding the

organisational reasoning behind how and why certain stories are found the way they are at dark tourism sites. For example, 'should the site be taken as a sombre place for commemoration and, for this reason, the storytelling tone should be kept the same way?'. Alternatively, 'should it be taken as a place to have fun?'. Related to the discussions on authenticity reviewed before, 'should these stories be (considered as) the absolute truth?'. In this line, whether the overall experience is meant to be**,** using Barthes (1974) distinction**, Readerly –** an impossibility of having independent interpretation of events outside what has been 'dictated' by the organisations; **or Writerly-** the overall message of individual stories and the overall narrative is left for visitors to decide, despite the organisation's aim to evoke certain emotions or actions.

- 'Which **characters** are present and which ones are not?'. For example, 'who is portrayed as the victim and who is the perpetrator?' Or is this left to visitors to decide? What do these narrative components of storylines; objects, emotions and theme, and characters tell us regarding the political ideology underpinning the dark site organisation, its semiotics and authenticity, as well as its dynamics of 'Othering'?

Additionally, a further three levels of analysis were used based on Riessman (2004) in order to identify regularities and differences in the narrative constructions across the sites and complement the previously described analysis of narrative components at the story and overall narrative levels. These three levels are the following:

- **Thematic analysis**: refers to the "context of a text […] or 'what' is said" (Riessman, 2004, p706). This type of analysis was very helpful when finding similar thematic elements at different dark tourism sites as well as throughout all interviews.

- **Structural Analysis**: refers to the "the way a story is told […] by selecting [and using] particular narrative devices" (Riessman, 2004,

p706). For example, at particular dark tourism site, the storyteller might order events within the story in a particular manner in order to build to a climatic moment like the Yeoman Warders do during their guided tours at the Tower of London.

- **Performative analysis**: which refers to storytelling and how it "is seen as a performance which involves, persuades and [perhaps] moves an audience through language and gesture [in sum] the 'doing' rather than the telling alone" (Riessman, 2004, p 708) This analysis was mainly used while finding out aspects such as the role of tour guides at dark tourism sites (or lack of them) as performers of stories.

These three levels and the narrative components analysis were applied to the narrative products within the observation based data collected in each site. As presented above, these narrative analyses are made with a view to understanding the storytelling and narrative outcomes' association with the organisational aspects explored in this study. These include dark tourism site's aims; the management of the site; managerial perceptions about visitors' motivations and experiences; historical interpretation authenticity and ethics; and stakeholder relationships within the frames of political ideology, othering and dissonant heritage.

Ethical considerations

This study has complied with the University of Bath's research ethics regulations and has also followed its Code of Good Practice in Research. The main ethical concern stated in this Code of Good Practice is that "researchers should always act with honesty, integrity, accountability, openness, minimal risk to participants, collaborators and themselves, and sensitivity to cultures and environments" (University of Bath, 2014). During the interviews, observations and informal discussions, all informants and their stories have been treated with upmost importance, without compromising their integrity at any point. Even though some interviews were carried outdoors or while walking, I was certain that the informants knew the places well and, for this reason, walking would pose no risk to their safety or mine. Regarding the confidentiality of respondents, anonymity has been guaranteed to all of those that requested it. On the other hand, those that are

mentioned by their names in this thesis gave me verbal consent to appear with their names. Also, all interviewees and people with whom I had informal discussions were made aware of main research topic and the fact that the information given during these encounters was going to be used for this thesis. This gave them a chance to express any possible objections and request any information to be left out of research. However, this never happened and all of my informants participated in the research voluntarily and without any kind of coercion from my part or any other party. Last but not least, all data collected has been stored securely in private storage devices to avoid any possible loss of information and the only person who has had access to these has been myself, which avoids any possible misuse of the information and keeps the data confidential at all times.

Despite being partly about controversial histories and places, this research has been carried out with upmost care to avoid any type of bias and without taking any sides in what seems to be controversial topics such as the Spanish Civil War. Moreover, an impartial attitude was also the norm in approaching and working with the living informants in this research, and when analysing the collected data about them and their activities. For non-participant observation, same ethical consideration about consent and confidentiality was applied to both practitioners and tourists. Yet, the names of the sites studied are kept public.

Validity, Reliability and Generalisability

As this study is based on case study method, the chapter concludes with an evaluative framework to assess the study's validity, reliability and generalisability. This framework is then used in discussing the study's applicability and limitations in the conclusion. To begin with, as this study employs case study method, it is useful to understand where the criticisms of this method come from. Case study as a method has been criticised for various reasons such as the impossibility to generalize from cases or the bias of researcher to confirm their preconceived notions (Flyvbjerg, 2006). These and other criticisms that Flyvbjerg (2006) addresses usually stem from attributing case study features that are not associated with this method of data selection. These attributions usually extrapolate assumptions about case studies from qualitative research's so-called 'weaknesses', such as lack of rigour, statistical evidence, and testable hypothesis, in comparison to quantitative research. These so

called weaknesses are extrapolated from quantitative research's aforementioned focus on measuring social phenomenon. Related to this focus are the issues of validity, reliability and generalisability (Bryman, 2008).

According to Bryman (2008), the issues of validity (whether the data collected can answer the main research question), reliability (whether the study could be repeated and would provide the same results), and external validity (whether the research results can be generalised to other contexts) have been conceptualised for studies that mainly use quantitative research methods. Bryman (2008) therefore offered new concepts that would address similar issues in qualitative research methods. These are credibility, transferability and dependability (Bryman, 2008, p34). Credibility or "'how believable are the findings?'[...]parallels internal validity" (ibid). On the other hand, external validity and reliability are substituted with transferability (of findings to similar contexts with similar if not exact same results) and dependability (the applicability of findings at other times), respectively (ibid, p34). These aspects are later addressed in the limitations section in Chapter 6 with reference to this study.

“This new social institution (dark tourism) facilitates the reconstruction of a meaning system for individuals in the face of reflexivity […] thus creating an opportunity to confront and contemplate ‘mortality moments’ from a perceived safe distance and environment” (Stone, 2009, p37)

Chapter 4. Research findings

The main research question and the main objectives of this study lead to two main areas of enquiry. The first one explored how and why particular stories are constructed and conveyed at specific sites by dark tourism organisations. Related to this 'how' and 'why' aspects was the exploration of the different controversies surrounding the overall narrative or the dark tourism product- namely, how they might be opposed, contested or supported by different stakeholders. In this line, this study explored the management issues such as interpretation and authenticity, commercialisation, and ethics in each case by concentrating on narrative products and performances of different entities, starting with dark tourism organisations and then talking to various stakeholders such as victim associations. Related to this focus on intra- and inter- organisational storytelling and narratives is the second area of enquiry- namely, organising history and the commemoration of death at different dark tourism sites in the UK and Spain. This area of inquiry draws on the existing literature on organising and organisations via storytelling and narratives, and contributes to that literature as well as the dark tourism literature by this study's findings.

This chapter explores the main findings of this study by looking first at the preliminary findings from the pilot observations. Following this, the chapter presents the most recurrent themes that emerged from the analysis of the field data. This is followed by a detailed description of the main findings at each case study. Firstly, the findings of the data collected at the two sites managed by Historic Royal Palaces are explained, followed by the findings at the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML. After the UK cases, the findings of the three Spanish cases are explored, starting with The Valley of the Fallen, followed by Old Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum. Since case studies are "context sensitive" (Patton, 2002. p447), a brief historical and contextual background to each case is given to gain a better understanding of the holistic situation of each dark tourism site and the organisations behind them. Last but not least, two tables give a visual representation and summary of the main findings of all case studies. These tables allow for a better picture of the similarities and differences among the dark tourism sites explored in this study.

Pilot observations and preliminary findings

During my pilot observations carried out at the Tower of London and the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML, it became apparent that most visitors to both sites were engaged with each site's dark history through artefacts. In contrast, through pilot observations at Hampton Court Palace and The Valley of the Fallen, I found out that such interaction was kept to a minimum because such artefacts were mainly absent. This difference was a good example of how some organisations, through stories and narrativised artefacts, could influence the experience visitors has at the site and how some stories are emphasised while others are silenced or 'othered'. While Historic Royal Palaces seemed to desire at the Tower of London an experience for all visitors centred mainly around its dark history, at Hampton Court Palace they seemed to prefer delivering a more educational and historical visit without dark references. Despite being quite different in their approach to the past, both Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London offered guided tours around the sites for visitors. On the contrary no guided tours were offered at the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML or around The Valley of the Fallen. Perhaps, a guided tour around the Holocaust Exhibition could be seen "frivolous; the visitor should make their own way around the site and interpret the artefacts through the stories provided" (Salmons, 2001). The Holocaust Exhibition deals with a highly sensitive topic and it seemed that the museum curators wanted to make sure the exhibition remained a place of solemnity and commemoration, something some people might prefer to do in their own way. In the same way, The Valley of the Fallen is a site that also deals with a very sensitive topic-namely, the Spanish Civil War and the fact that fighters from both sides are buried at the site. Yet, I could not observe any proper reference to who these fallen fighters were or the reasons why they are buried here.

On the subject of how stories are told at each site, according to my pilot observations, at the Tower of London gruesome and horrible stories were always told in a humorous manner. At Hampton Court Palace there was some humour present, mostly through the costume interpretation that most visitors seemed to be finding very enjoyable. In contrast, and as expected, there was absolutely no humour at the Holocaust Exhibition or The Valley of the Fallen. The difference was not only in terms of how the stories were told (or their absence in The Valley of the Fallen), but

also in visitors' reaction to these stories and artefacts. Visitors to the Holocaust Exhibition seemed to remain solemn and even sad throughout the visit, however at the Tower of London everyone appeared to laugh and enjoy themselves regardless of how crude and gruesome the stories told were. This was also a sign of different visitor motivations and perhaps expectations behind the visitation to dark tourism sites. Moreover, the Tower felt like a place for family entertainment and excitement, mainly through the animated but horrible stories told by the guides. Similarly, at Hampton Court Palace the main entertainment came from the guided tours.

Above all, it became clear from the pilot observations that the main attraction in each site seemed to be the stories told and how these were for seemingly different organisational aims for the site such as entertainment, education and commemoration. Without stories in different forms and delivered in different ways, the whole visitor experience would have been completely different and to certain extent 'incomplete'. The organisations behind the pilot study sites seemed to want to 'change' or at least influence visitors cognitively and emotionally during and after their visits. In my personal experience as a visitor during the pilot observations, this kind of emotional and cognitive (learning) experience was certainly the case. However, a question arose from this personal experience-namely, 'how long does such a change last after the visit?' Based on what I experienced after my preliminary observations, the sites and the stories might change visitors for a while by making them feel sad and puzzled, or excited and entertained, depending on the stories about particular dark events and the ways they were presented. However, after sometime, it seemed unlikely that the visit to a commercialised and seemingly light entertainment dark sites would have any lasting influence in visitors' lives. On the other hand, controversial or non-controversial sites about man-made mass suffering and horror felt like they could leave a lasting mark in our memory, emotions and approach to human history, especially if they conveyed strong messages via the overall narrative approach.

Having observed and experienced these different aspects related to the storytelling and narrative experiences in these pilot sites, I turned my attention to exploring these and other organising and storytelling aspects in the selected sites. Moreover, during pilot observations I could not find out things such as the dark

tourism organisations' aims regarding their storytelling approaches, the reason why stories are found the way they were at each site, and whether they were contested and/or influenced by other stakeholders. In order to find answers to these and other questions, I embarked on conducting the final fieldwork.

Main themes from findings across six sites

After all the observations and interviews had been analysed using the colour coding technique described in the methodology section, I created a list of the most recurrent words. Also, introducing these words into a free word cloud-generating programme named Word It Out allowed me to create a visual representation of the most recurrent themes in the data. These themes refer to main subjects that emerged during the interviews and observations, and from my fieldwork and personal diaries. The representation of the themes is as follows:

Figure 8. Word map of main themes from findings

The words that appear in larger font are those that have frequently appeared throughout the data while those appear in smaller font indicate other themes that were not as recurrent. Bearing this in mind, the most recurrent themes were, as seen in figure 8, Entertainment and Learning, Education, Stories and Storytelling. Using

the literature review and all the depicted themes in the previous figure as a guide, the following sections explore each case study, starting with the UK sites followed by those in Spain, and provide a detail exploration of the empirical findings at each site.

"For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground and tell sad stories of the death of Kings."
(Shakespeare, King Richard II)

Case studies in the UK

Historic Royal Palaces

"Step through the doors of a royal palace and you're surrounded by stories of strategy, intrigue, ambition, romance, devotion and disaster" (Historic Royal Palaces, 2013)

In this study, two sites managed by Historic Royal Palaces were studied, namely the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace. However, before exploring each site in detail, it is important to understand what the organisation Historic Royal Palaces is, its objectives and principles and what its input at each site is. Just as a reminder to the reader, the Tower of London was selected as it seemed to embody what is described in the literature as an established dark tourism site that makes a clear use of their dark heritage, while Hampton Court Palace, despite having a tragic and 'ghostly' past, does not put this fact in the forefront of their visitor experience.

Historic Royal Palaces (HRP) is an independent charity that looks after and manages five palaces that belong to the British monarchy. Financially autonomous, HRP does not receive any official funding or have any official supervision for that matter. As an organisation, their central purposes are to take care of the physical aspects of each site (e.g., conservation of the buildings, gardens and objects), and to research and interpret the history of each place. These latter aspects are communicated to visitors through the use of different narrativised tools such as costumed interpretation, guided tours, written publications, and interactive displays (HRP, 2012). Furthermore, HRP claims that its main goal is to "help everyone explore the stories of how monarchs and people have shaped society, in some of the greatest palaces ever built" (ibid).

To be able to understand HRP's management approach at each of their sites, it is important to understand their principles as "everything they do is done based on them" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). These principles are described in the following figure:

Figure 9. HRP 'Our Principles'

(Source: Researcher's own)

The four principles shown in figure 9, guide everything that the organisation does, from the way they display certain objects, to the way they promote and tell the history of each site. What is more, stories and storytelling is one of the key elements that bond all these aspects together, as these "are at the heart of everything" (Souden, 2009) that is done at the sites under their management. For instance, the organisation states that they use stories to engage visitors with the history of the site and to find links between the history and today's society. By doing this, they aim to help these palaces have "a future as valuable as their past" (HRP, 2012). Additionally, it is trough the use of stories that the organisation explains the bigger picture of each site to visitors, while at the same time holding back some stories in order to "encourage people to make their own discoveries […] and find links with their own lives and world today" (ibid). The independent status of the organisation means that they can ultimately decide what storytelling approach they use at each site, without any official input from either the British monarchy or the government. But it is perhaps the showmanship principle that is more interesting, since the fact that everything is done "with panache" (See figure 9 above) has become an essential aspect of visitors' enjoyment during their visit (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). It is through the use of costumed interpretation that they can attract different audiences that do not necessarily have the same needs, expectations and learning

styles (HRP, 2012). Moreover, the showmanship aspect at the sites has another very important purpose - namely “to convey emotions by using the past” (ibid), which becomes a fundamental part of the overall learning experience at each site.

The Tower of London

"Do you dare visit the Tower of London? If so be prepared for the sorrowful traitor's avail, eternal pleas for mercy, and the axe that does not hesitate to strike. Take care or perhaps you, too, will find yourself eternally condemned" (Bone, n.d,)

The Tower of London is a royal palace and fortress located in the north bank of the River Thames in London. Over the years it has become one of the most important sites in English history as well as the most visited heritage place in the country (Fowler, 1992). William the Conqueror commissioned the place in 1066, presumably, in order to keep undesirable people away. Successive monarchs added to the Tower until it became what it is today (HRP, 2012). The monarch Henry VII established what would become one of the most prominent figures at the Tower, the Yeoman Warders or Beefeaters, in the year 1485 (ibid). However, despite its regal status, the site has a darker side with the "ever present […] grim undertones of the torture and the executions which took place there" (Abbott, 2003, p9)

On my first fieldwork days while looking at this structure from the opposite side of the River Thames I could not help but wonder what exactly makes this site one of the most successful touristic attractions in terms of visitor numbers both in London and the UK as a whole (ALVA, 2015). Is it the grand architecture? Or is it perhaps down to the unique combination of royal history, carefully planned and performed storytelling and large number of myths that surround the place? Either way, the Tower of London is, without a doubt, a dark tourism site *par excellence* and "a fearful reminder that it is one of the worlds' bloodiest historic sites" (Bone, n.d). According to the Education Manager at the Tower of London (Conference presentation 24 February 2012), this site is such a successful tourist attraction because of a number of elements, which are summarised, in the following figure (figure 10):

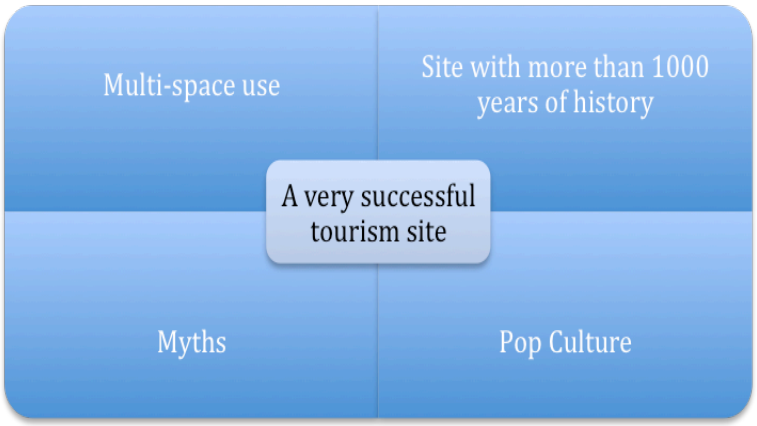


Figure 10. Elements of a successful tourism site (Tower of London)
(Source: Researcher's own)

The first aspect, the multi-space use, refers to the possibility of using many different spaces in diverse ways while the second one points out the historical value of the site since it has been part of London for more than a millennium. In addition to these, the myths surrounding the site, for instance, the erroneous idea that most or all wives of Henry VIII were beheaded, and that all beheadings happened at the Tower. (Education Manager at the Tower of London, Conference presentation 24 February 2012). In fact, only two of Henry VIII eight wives were beheaded, although both beheadings did happen at the Tower of London (History, 2014). All these misconceptions, combined with popular culture present in the country is what makes Tower of London a fascinating tourist attraction (Informal discussion with Education Manager at the Tower of London, 24 February 2012)

Storytelling and Disney?

"The world is light and dark. Even Disneyland has a few goblins" (Silvan, 2014)

The Tower of London as a touristic site has two main objectives, namely to preserve the physical aspect of the site, but at the same time communicate its history in order to educate visitors about what happened there (Education Manager at the Tower of London, Conference presentation 24 February 2012). And the main vehicle of communication used here, as in other dark tourism sites, is mainly stories (ibid). These stories are a mixture of real facts about events that happened at the site over the centuries combined with exaggerations to create a perfect mix that will please a wide variety of audiences. However, according to the Education Manager at the Tower of London (Conference, 24 February 2012), this can also be problematic because a bogus history of the Tower of London is out there and people form a lot of

misconceptions, fuelled by what they hear and see on TV and the Internet. He implied that this type of polyphony of generally misconceived ideas about the Tower of London was something they are trying to change by, for example, providing as much information as possible to visitors during their visits (Conference, 24 February 2012).

The HRP Head of Access and Learning (Interview 7 March 2013) confirmed that HRP is indeed trying to change the possible misconceptions visitors might have about their sites, mainly the Tower of London, by creating a new plan in which each year, one of those more historical aspects of the site will be developed. However, he claimed that such a historical development is still not a priority for visitors as people "go there mainly to be entertained and not to be lectured about history" (ibid). Moreover, the Head of Access and Learning argued that the Tower of London is a bit like 'Disney', in that many of the stories are not historically accurate but are in fact "either nonsense… and if not nonsense it is mythical and you can't be sure about its historical veracity" (Interview 7 March 2013). He added that the stories HRP tell at the Tower of London, mainly those via the Yeoman Warders tours, are "lopsided [as] they will put a huge emphasis on quite minor episodes of history because [visitors] are…bloodthirsty" (Interview 7 March 2013). Indeed, this aspect of the storytelling approach at the Tower of London has been criticised with "many claiming that [the darker details of the Tower's history] have been exaggerated and over-dramatised in order to pander to the public's love of the macabre" (Abbott, 2003, p9).

Furthermore, the Education Manager at the Tower of London concurred with this view and stated that the Tower of London is in fact "like Disney […] a lot of it is fact, but a lot of it is fiction and fantasy" (Conference, 24 February 2012). However, he also claimed that the made-up of stories and some exaggeration of real facts make "the overall experience for visitors much more enjoyable because that is what they expect, entertainment" (ibid). Nevertheless, this perceived outcome of visitor experience, stemming from made-up stories and exaggeration of real facts seems to be incompatible with their previously mentioned aim of educating visitors. Is it possible for visitors to learn, an outcome that is one of the organisational aims of the Tower of London, despite some facts being fabricated and its dark history exaggerated for the sole purpose of fulfilling visitors 'thirst' for macabre details? (Abbott, 2003, p9). Another related question is: How does this perceived visitor

experience outcome come about and is actually allowed by the organisation? In fact, the embellished storytelling approach that seemed to be centred around the Yeomen Warders at the site has been criticised within and outside the organisation since the Tower of London opened to the public in the 19th century (HRP, 2012). For example, in the Illustrated Magazine of Art from 1854, the Tower was described as "an antiquated show place where a beefeater in an absurd […] costume […] exhibits, for a small gratuity, the arms and armour of other days" (ibid, p18). The HRP Head of Access and Learning also questioned the use of costumes at the Tower as he considers it to be "just part of the whole joke" (Interview 7 March 2013) as opposed to Hampton Court Palace, where costume interpretations are part of the stories told – namely in a historical way not in a comical way. These accounts by the key employees of the Tower of London and HRP, as well as HRP's official documents, paint a picture of a mismatch between their organisational aims and their perceptions about what the overall visitor experiences are at the Tower of London.

In fact, during my fieldwork at the Tower, I observed that while on their own and not in a Yeoman Warder tour, visitors were reading the information and story displays with respect. No one person seemed to take these and other narrativised artefacts as a joke. Bearing this observation and the above accounts in mind, it was plausible that what makes the Tower of London a quite 'absurd' tourist attraction at times is the performance of some of their own employees- namely, the Yeoman Warders and their storytelling approach. How Yeoman Warders could actually have a storytelling approach that seemed to undermine HRP's main aim of education can be explained by what the Education Manager at the Tower of London stated about HRP aims for the visitor experience at the Tower - namely "educational as well as entertaining" (Conference 24 February 2012). Moreover, according to the Education Manager (ibid), one of the main challenges to "educating" visitors is the fact that around 70% of visitors to the Tower of London do not speak English. Although there are leaflets about different aspects of the Tower in different languages, they are very limited in content compared to English leaflets and signs. In addition, compared to what visitors experiences during Yeoman Warder tours, this type of storytelling via leaflets handed to visitors at the entrance and at the beginning of their visit is not at all as engaging and entertaining experience, as per my observations. Not having Yeoman Warder tours in different languages, which is probably something

impossible given the Yeoman's special career path to the Tower of London, including having 22 year service with regular armed services (HRP, 2013a) great majority of visitors are missing out on an entertaining and embellished take on some parts of the Tower's history. This also implies that the overall narrative experience intended for visitors is not uniform in terms of outcomes.

Despite these different experiences offered to the visitors, owing to the different narrative products, one of the most important aspects of the storytelling approach at the Tower of London seems to be evoking certain emotions in visitors. Even before visitors arrive at site, they most likely have the expectation that they are going to be entertained and that the visit is going to be a fun day out (Education Manager at the Tower of London, Conference 24 February 2012). In fact, I observed that such a perceived visitor expectation is quite well catered by the Tower of London's management, as shall be explained later. Nevertheless, the Education Manager also stated that they have a responsibility towards the history of the Tower of London, and thus, a series of emotions, from empathy to happiness, not just excitement and thrill are conveyed to all audiences. Nevertheless, based on my own experience as a visitor, and as implied by my HRP interviewees, before reaching the site, visitors probably expect to be entertained and be told about all the gore details of the site, while having fun. This is a stark contrast with darker sites such as the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML, where negative emotions are purposefully encouraged in an attempt to make visitors remember their visit beyond the exit door. In fact, what is expected from visitors at the Tower of London by HRP is "to enjoy and have fun and at the end of the day no one would look down on any of the visitors if they saw them eating a sandwich right after visiting the torture chamber" (Education Manager, Conference 24 February 2012). However, this type of approach can be criticised as frivolous and in fact insensitive to human suffering, no matter how far away in time such suffering happened. As discussed in the literature, such a criticism can also be made on the "voyeuristic" potential of many dark tourism experiences (Daams 2007; Cohen 2001; Lennon 2005). However, like these scholars, Silvan (2014) also points to the usefulness of having visitors at such sites of human suffering for its educational purposes and as an alternative to leave these sites to be forgotten. Nevertheless, in the case of the Tower of London, the way many historical

artefacts related to human suffering are presented does not seem to "lend [such] meaning to the experience" (Silvan, 2014, para6). These ways are discussed below.

There are numerous artefacts used around the Tower of London such as posters, videos and music. These seem to be particularly integral to popular attractions inside the Tower such as the torture chamber and the death and punishment exhibition. Without these historical recreated artefacts, the stories about torture and punishment would not be, maybe, as powerful for visitors' imagination. Torture artefacts, pictures and stories all build up the macabre mood around the chamber. Also, in a transit area between different rooms of the exhibition, visitors can actively interact with the artefacts and even take pictures of themselves holding recreated weapons used in medieval times. One day during my fieldwork, while I was in this corridor, I saw two siblings being pictured by their mother in a position as if they were re-enacting a situation in which one sibling is about to kill the other, and acted as if this was some sort of game that should be taken lightly. Moreover, not only artefacts are used at the Tower to enhance visitor experiences, but also different lightings methods are employed at different rooms. Many of the areas that can be visited are dark and dull; lighting is kept to a minimum, while some others are bright and perhaps more spacious than those with dull lighting (or it could be an effect by the lighting too). Again, these techniques to enhance visitors' experiences at the site have been carefully planned by the organisation, as explained by the Education Manager. He argued that the "lighting is all a pantomime to give visitors the feeling that it is an old, dark place" (Conference, 24 February 2012).

However, at the Tower of London not all rooms and displays talk about gore, executions and torture as some visitors might expect. In fact, during my fieldwork at the Tower (May 2011, November 2011, March 2012) I also encountered rooms where more historical stories of the site were explained through the use of story and information panels, videos, background music, and antique furniture. An example of this is King Edward's chamber room where visitors can explore the story of this king and his daily life. What is more, the Tower of London would occasionally use costumed interpretation in some of the rooms (see figure 11 for an example of this type of interpretation) to recreate palatial daily life and encourage visitors to learn and engage with those other aspects of the site (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013).

Figure 11. Costumed interpretation at the Tower of London
(Source: Researcher's own November 2011)

Nevertheless, the most marketed aspect and indeed the most popular among visitors according to the Education Manager (Informal discussion 24 February 2012) and the HRP Head of Access and Learning (Interview, 7 March 2013) is without a doubt the Yeoman Warder tours. The following section explores the Yeoman Warder tours in more detail, and contrasts them with a private historical tour I had the opportunity to take at the Tower as part of the organised activities at the Challenging History Conference (25 February 2012).

Yeoman Warders Tours vs. Private tour

The Tower of London's official web page states that "The Yeoman tours are very entertaining [as they] involve shouting and highlight the more gory aspects of the Tower's history [and] children are generally encouraged to come to the front but it is not compulsory" (HRP, 2012b). These tours are not only one of the main attractions at the site but also the main vehicle HRP uses to convey their stories to English speaking visitors at the Tower. The organisation invites visitors to "Join one of these famous tours where Yeoman Warders (popularly known as 'Beefeaters') will entertain you with tales of intrigue, imprisonment, execution, torture and much more…" (HRP, 2012b). Gruesome and dark stories are always told with a hint of humour making them quite light-hearted and humorous for visitors of all ages. For example, during one of the tours I took (14 November 2011) the Yeoman Warder

joked at one point about ‘torture’ as he argued that it was normally misinterpreted and that in fact it was “a way of keeping a conversation going”, following this with a story of a man who was tortured with very explicit details. These tours are open to visitors from all ages. However, during the tours (done 8-9 May 2011 and 14 November 2011) I could not help but worry about how stories about beheaded and tortured people might influence children. Nevertheless, the parents and the Yeoman Warders seemed to be comfortable with children listening to these stories during the tours. The aspect of children being at the site is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

The humorous aspect of the Yeoman tour seems to be quite important as it is the way the organisation can make this visit both entertaining and exciting for visitors: “People like things to be straightforward and they want to hear the stories about gore and beheadings, not about when the site was built and how” (Education Manager, Informal discussion, 24 February, 2012). However, as discussed before, not everyone in key positions within the organisation is happy with the different storytelling approaches adopted by Yeoman Warders. For example, the HRP Head of Access and Learning claimed that “many of [us] do not like it… because quite often very serious topics are treated in a light hearted way” (Interview 7 March 2013). He further explained that neither he nor his colleagues at HRP have the power to change what is told and how is told at the Tower or by the Yeoman Warders during the tours (ibid). The Education Manager at the Tower stated that Yeoman Warders are given a sort of ‘script’ that includes all the things they have to cover during the tours (Conference, 24 February 2012), but that apart from that HRP do not really dictate what goes on at the Tower, and added that the site’s ‘independent’ status from HRP was in fact ‘exploited’ at times by the Tower’s curators (Conference, 24 February 2012). Despite all these detractions about them, the Yeoman Warders are in fact considered as “institutionally ordained storytellers” (Katriel, 2011, p277) and crucial to any (mainly English speaking) visit to the Tower of London.

As stated before, one of the aims of the Yeoman Warders is helping the visitors to interact and engage with the history of the site. For example, during the observed tours (done 8-9 May 2011 and 14 November 2011) the Yeoman Warders told visitors to pretend that they were an angry mob “hauling” for the “blood of the prisoner”. The audience shouted loudly and the rest of the visitors not in the tour far

and near turned around to find the source of such commotion. After this, the guide continued talking about torture for a few minutes before telling another joke: "This place behind me remains a place of torture (short pause) it is a gift shop" (tour 8 May 2011). The sombre atmosphere induced by details of torture was once again broken with laughter. After this, the group was led to the Traitor's Gate. This gate was originally a water gate but as explained by the Yeoman during the tour, its name was changed to the Traitor's Gate around the 1500s when the Tower became a site of imprisonment and the prisoners' accused of treason entered this site through this gate by boat. At this gate the Yeoman told the story of William Wallace, a famous Scottish fighter against the English army in the 13th century, and made fun of the Scottish accent. He then went on to give a very graphic description of how Wallace was killed.

As the tour groups were usually quite large, it was only natural that some people became disengaged from the Yeoman after sometime (looking around, talking to each other), but the Yeoman seemed to quickly catch these visitors attention by raising his voice and looking at everyone in the eye so that they paid close attention to what it was being said. Right after, the Yeoman continued the tour by saying "I will now tell you about what you came here to hear… about the blood and gore". At this point people seemed intrigued, as if the things said so far were not bloody and gory enough, then what sort of stories was he going to tell now? The Yeoman then told the story of how two boys were killed in the White Tower, which as explained by the Yeoman, is the oldest structure of the Tower of London that was built as a symbol of the sovereign's power over the kingdom. While he was telling this story he particularly looked at the children and younger members of the audience as if he wanted to engage with them by scaring them. To break the gory atmosphere, once again, the humorous note came in and the Yeoman said that there was another prisoner in this tower who was "tortured for 13 years (audience seemed surprised) … He was locked with his wife and kids". The audience laughed really loud at this joke and the tour continued in this manner of combining gore and humour. At this point is important to note that the Yeoman tours always take place in the courtyard and open areas of the Tower as tour groups are too large to be accommodated in various rooms where stories and associated artefacts are presented via display panels and audio visual media.

It is true that the Yeoman Warders do incorporate historical facts in their tours, for example, when they talk about Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII, and her time at the Tower. However, the Yeoman Warders never seem to forget the abhorrent details and the fun they make about these details. It became evident from the three tours observed that each Yeoman seemed to have a unique joke that they tell in every tour. The Education Manager at the Tower (Conference 24 February 2012) confirmed that although the Yeoman Warders are given a script by the Tower of London's curators about the things they have to tell during the tours, each of them could introduce their own jokes and personal touches to the script. An example of this distinctive jokes is the one told by one of the Warders after talking about how Anne Boleyn's head was "chopped" and her "eyes were still looking around and the lips moving", he then asked everyone to move towards the other side of the Tower and said "Chop chop […]Oops I did not realise that" (8-9 May 2011).

Bearing in mind the previously described details about the Yeoman Warder tours, it might seem that the Tower of London is all about gore, punishment and execution. While it is true that the darker side of the site is heavily marketed, the truth is that the Tower of London is much more than a site of torture and imprisonment and the stories that could be told are much richer and diverse than those told during the Yeoman Warder tours (HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). Because of the organisational perceptions about visitors' expectations to hear stories of gore and blood, the overall history of the Tower of London is somewhat simplified and 'Disneyfied' through the omissions of some historical ordinaries and the embellishment and exaggeration of darker facts (i.e. beheadings and torture at the Tower) (Conference, Education Manager at the Tower, 24 February 2012).

During the Challenging History Conference (23-25 February 2012) I and other attendees had the opportunity to do a private guided tour around the Tower of London with Sally Dixon, the Tower's collections curator (25 February 2012). During this short tour (45 minutes) named 'Hidden histories of the Tower' we were given many details and stories of the Tower of London I was not previously aware of despite my previous fieldwork visits. These stories included that of a Zoo that had been housed within its walls for many years (including Polar bears!) and how that was a symbol of the exoticism of the Royal Family of the time. She further explained

how the Tower of London had been a key element of Great Britain's national and international relations and thus used to signify the power and endurance of the British kingdom during many centuries. During the tour, Dixon also mentioned the difficulties the Tower's curators face when devising visitor experiences as on the one hand they want to transmit as much historical information as possible but on the other they have to cater for visitors expectations of gore and blood. She finished the tour by stating that she and other curators at the Tower were working to increase visitors' awareness of other historical facts and that they were hoping to incorporate a wide range of stories within visitors experiences in the future (Guided private tour, 25 February 2012)

In sum, the differences between the Yeoman Warder tours and the private tour come to show that not only has the Tower of London another less known aspect to it but also other tours and stories are possible at the site. With this in mind, it could be argued that at this dark tourism site another more historical tone could have been used apart from the humorous one that seems to be one of the key highlights of English speaking visitors' experiences. It seems that the Tower of London has made a conscious decision to promote the darker and gorier side of the site over the more historically broader one, based on the organisation's perception about visitor expectations' of gore and blood. The predominant narrative experience of trivialised dark and gory continues despite claims that this is something some curators at the site are trying to change (Informal discussion, Education Manager, 24 February 2012; Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013).

Adults and children - same story?

Children from all ages are allowed to take the Yeoman tour. Within the groups that took the tours with me the youngest visitor I saw was probably around 3 or 4 years old. The parents did not seem to mind the little child listening to how William Wallace was dismembered and how his "intestines were pulled while he was still alive" (8-9 May 2011). I found a similar situation all around the Tower where parents would even encourage young children to listen to horrible stories present beyond the Yeoman Warder tours. This was the case for instance in the Death and Punishment room. Here, there is a display screen and a continuously played video in which costumed actors play characters that were executed in the Tower and describe how they were killed and why, using a humorous tone. This video seems to specially

target younger audiences. During my visits to the Tower, the benches in front of this video were most of the time filled with children paying close attention to, for example, what Anne Boleyn had to say about herself being beheaded. I also observed that some parents would leave the children watching this video while they had a wonder around the room to have a look at the exhibition. So what does this tell about the organisation? Is it ethical to allow children to watch and hear such gory details? And if it is, then why is it that in some dark tourism sites children under a certain age are not allowed in? An example of this is the Holocaust Exhibition at the IWML where children under 14 are not permitted in. It seems that some gore and horrible stories are too 'dark' or perhaps too real to be told to children while others are okay to be exposed to anyone.

The Education Manager (Conference 24 February 2012) at the Tower of London stated that they receive all sorts of tourists every day and that it is important for them to tailor as much as possible the experience at the site for each particular group such as school trips, children, teenagers, and adults. This was identified as one of the main challenges for their educational or learning goals, as the type of visitor and their expectations would determine what visitors would ultimately take out of their visit. For instance, as the Education Manager explained to the conference attendees, educational material and itinerary information would be sent to schools before the trip. Additionally, an employee of the Education department at the Tower of London told me personally during the same conference (23-25 February 2012) that the three main challenges for their curators are as follows: 1.The broad nature of the Tower's history but people's indifference to historical facts beyond executions and prisoners; 2. The types of visitors, whether they are children, teenagers or adults; 3. Visitors' expectations vs. historical facts as people mainly expect to hear torture and execution stories and see a costumed representation of Henry VIII. It was interesting for me to observe how the organisation has a common perception about visitors' expectations as one of the challenges and how they used this perception to create "what visitors wanted". One of the Yeoman Warders I could very briefly talk to after one of the tours (9 May 2011) also confirmed that many visitors have "heard stories about Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn being beheaded and they want to come and see the real thing."

The humour factor, which was integral to Yeoman tours, seems to be even more prevalent when the Tower deals with children, maybe attesting to a conviction on the part of the organisation that this type of engagement is best for everyone's learning, including that of children. When I was sent one of the documents prepared for children by the education department at the Tower, I was quite surprised to find a series of cartoons (see figure 12 below for example) among the historical facts. Again this shows how both education and humour are combined at the Tower of London to ensure children learn the history one way or another.

Figure 12. History at the Tower - Children
(Source: HRP, 2012)

The gift shop – another way of delivering stories

The modern gifts and souvenirs shop right outside the Tower contrasts with the old view of the main entrance where visitors queue to get inside. One of the first times I visited the Tower of London (8 May 2011) I was surprised to find that there seemed to be almost as many people in the shop as there were later inside the site, which made me realise this part of the site was as popular with tourists, as the actual Tower of London. This fact has not been overlooked by the organisation either. The Education Manager (Conference, 24 February 2012) pointed out the importance of the shop by stating that it is a much-needed source of income for the site, and also a good way of reaching different types of audiences, who "will end up learning

something about this place, even when they don't even get to see it inside". This was quite remarkable for me because it seemed that not only the organisation is well aware that many visitors do not even enter the site, but also some people would be happy to walk away with a fridge magnet or a pen from the Tower without, presumably, even getting to know its history. The security guard at the main entrance also told me that the shop is outside "mostly for people to buy the entrance to the Tower and avoid long queues here (at the main entrance) while people are trying to get in. Also it is because sometimes people would not enter the Tower but would buy things as if they had been inside" (Informal discussion 8 May 2011). I always thought people would go to a place to experience it, but it seems that *in situ* dark tourism experiences can be replaced by quick consumption related to the site. In this case, can we blame the organisation for encouraging such consumption and thus being over commercialised by opening this shop outside the Tower instead of inside, maybe right before the exit area?

With reference to the importance of this space, the Tower of London has recently commissioned *i-am* marketing company to re-design and re-decorate the shop so that it could attract more visitors and make it a better experience for them even without visiting the Tower (i-am, 2013) The most interesting aspect of this new shop space is the fact that the Tower of London wanted to emphasize a particular aspect that would for sure appeal to all sorts of audiences- namely, its dark history and stories. This has been achieved by introducing a series of audio-visual effects such as "ghostly images through the use of specially designed graphics" (ibid). By making the shop bigger and introducing new products for both children and adults, the Tower of London has managed to make their shop "an experience that remains theatrical, memorable and fun" (ibid).

At this point, it may be interesting to reveal and explain one of the bestselling products at the Tower's shops, according to a shop employee (Informal discussion 14 November 2011): A set of cardboard figures (figure 13), which once assembled transform into either an executioner cutting a head- named The Executioner (see right hand side of the picture) and a torture table- named The Rack (seen at the front of the picture).

Figure 13. Toys sold at the Tower's shop
(Source: Researcher's own, 2011)

Trying to find out whether these toys were aimed at children or adults, I approached a lady at the counter of one of the shops inside the Tower (Informal discussion 14 November 2011). She immediately replied that these toys were aimed mainly at children but have to be assembled with an adult and that they were one of their bestselling toys as "kids really like that stuff" (ibid). What makes the toys even more macabre than how they look is the fact that they are not static. Thanks to an inside mechanism, some parts can be moved. For instance, the head of the condemned goes up and down at the same time as the axe. The torturer's arms move at the same time as those of the person being tortured. While at the shop, I also happened to notice that in the children section of the shop, most of the books were associated with the popular BBC series *Horrible Histories*, which aim to make children understand different historical periods and events through gore, macabre, humour and simple language. These productions also proved to be very popular with adult BBC audiences (Hickman, 2011). In sum, nothing in the distant past seems to be too gory or too serious to avoid using wittiness at the Tower of London and beyond.

All in all, despite its seemingly Readerly nature (i.e., visitors are 'obligated' to have fun at the site), experiences at the Tower of London are in fact Writerly. This is because despite the overall approach of fun and entertainment via telling of comic-

tragic stories, visitors are not 'dictated' to feel in that particular way. What is more, if they choose to do so, visitors can have a much more 'serious' and didactically based experience at most parts of the site (as per observations of the Tower's other parts). As an example, despite the Yeoman Warder's best efforts during one of the guided tours I took (8-9 May 2011), some people did not seem to find his stories amusing or funny. They were not laughing or smiling. They looked disengaged. At least, two people left mid-tour. However, even though some people did not actively engage with the Yeoman Warder and his stories, the rest of the group and the guide himself did not make them feel awkward for this reason or did not have to come to them and a ask, "why are you not having fun?". This is complete opposite to the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML, as will be later discussed in detail, where visitors regardless of what they feel about the site (e.g., solemnity and sadness), they are expected to behave in a certain way (i.e., low voice, no laughter, no pictures) because of the delicate nature of the topic in question, and also because of how the space is organised and the stories about the victims told within. Any behaviour not deemed 'appropriate' by the organisation and more importantly fellow visitors is likely to be reproached. What is more, based on the previous discussion of the findings from the Tower of London, it is possible to classify this dark tourism site as 'designated' (Foote, 1997). The Tower as a whole with the general storytelling approach and narratives considered designates a site where important people lived and significant events happened related to the British monarchy in past centuries. Yet, the more interactive storytelling and related narratives specifically designate it as a site about crime and punishment that happened within its walls in medieval times.

Hampton Court Palace

"Wander the corridors of royal power and pleasure" (HRP, 2011)

Hampton Court Palace is one of the main tourist attractions in the UK with more than 500.000 visitors each year (HRP, 2009). Hampton Court Palace is also one of the few remaining Tudor palaces in the country. Over the years, different British monarchs and historical figures have been linked to this grandiose and palatial site, the most famous being perhaps Henry VIII. Hampton Court Palace is also a well known as a tourist attraction for it has more than 500 years of history and hundreds of acres of gardens by the River Thames. Visitors to this regal site can visit things such as Henry VIII's kitchens that used to cook more than 600 meals twice a day every day in the 16th century (Display panel at Hampton Court Palace Kitchens, Visit in May 2011). It is also possible to explore other rooms such as the Great Hall, which was used for royal banquets, and the Chapel Royal where Henry VIII used to pray everyday during his stays at Hampton Court Palace (HRP, 2011). The history of this monarch is prevalent throughout the site and although other historical figures are mentioned such as Cardinal Thomas Wolsey[11] or Katherine of Aragon[12], the visit is almost entirely about Henry VIII and his life at Hampton Court Palace.

Not surprisingly, the daily costumed interpretations of Henry VIII are "always quite popular as visitors enjoy seeing him" (Interview HRP, Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013) and this and other costumed characters at Hampton Court are created to be "like history lectures in costume […] that are absolutely story driven" (ibid). During my visit I had the opportunity to watch one of the Henry VIII appearances and I have to say that it was a very enjoyable way of interacting with history. This feeling of mine seemed to be shared by all the visitors present in the room as during this 30-minute representation of Henry VIII's night routine visitors laughed almost all the way through. This was mainly because the actor who played the monarch, apparently like the real monarch, never addressed the audience directly. He then used his walking stick to choose some visitor volunteers who would have the

[11] Hampton Court Palace was originally built for Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and was used as his residency until 1528 when he fell out of favour with Henry VIII and the monarch decided to acquire the Palace from Wolsey (HRP, 2011)
[12] Katherine of Aragon was the first wife of Henry VIII (HRP, 2011)

honour of “helping the monarch put his pyjamas” (Actor playing the role of Henry VIII's servant) while the rest of the audience would “have the honour of witnessing such an occasion” (ibid).

However, “behind the grand façade”(Borman, 2013) of Hampton Court Palace and the stories of monarchs “lie[s] the dark secrets of the British Royals” (ibid), which have made the site a place of “dramatic and often violent history” (HRP, 2009). Bearing all these in mind, it is no wonder that the site has a reputation for being one of the most haunted buildings in the country (ibid). What is more, a series of paranormal activities have been reported by both visitors and HRP employees alike (Law, 1918; Underwood, 1971; and Guiley, 1994 all cited in Wiseman *et al.*2003). The management of Hampton Court Palace has always been aware of such reported events; however it seems that it was not until 2003 that they decided to further investigate the ‘ghostly’ experiences reported at the site. It was this year that the CCTV images (see figure 14) of an alleged ghost closing a fire exit at Hampton Court Palace made headlines and news reports all over the world (BBC, 2003; El Pais, 2003) It was this ghostly apparition named *Skeletor* by Historic Royal Palaces (as if he was some sort of mascot) that not only brought notoriety to the site but also what prompted the organisation to contact a group of experts to scientifically investigate “why many people reported ‘ghostly’ activity within the building” (Wiseman *et al.;* 2003, p1). This group of experts concluded that Hampton Court Palace's ‘ghostly’ reputation is well deserved as “a high percentage of participants reported experiencing unusual phenomena when walking through two allegedly haunted areas of the palace” (ibid, p13). However, the experts, perhaps not surprisingly, found out that people who believed in ghosts would often report having more contact with paranormal phenomena than those who did not. This ‘darker’ and ‘ghostly’ aspect of Hampton Court Palace is discussed later on in detail.

Figure 14. Hampton Court's 'Skeletor'
(Source: HRP, 2011)

Entertainment and Storytelling

As stated before, stories and storytelling is at the heart of most HRP buildings and Hampton Court Palace is no different. It is through the storytelling aspect that exhibitions and experiences at the site are devised and constructed "so that [the visitor] moves through spaces and the sequence of stories unfolds for you" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). Therefore, the organisation uses the architecture and devised visitation paths to match the stories, not the other way around. However, stories are not always found explicitly at the site because visitors are encouraged to co-create their overall experience by following certain clues provided to them. This is part of the organisational learning approach that is also at the "heart of [HRP] interpretation" (HRP, 2012). Additionally, behind the storytelling approach at Hampton Court Palace there are different organisational aims. The main one is to show that history happened there *in situ,* "big things, big events, big people were [at the site]" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). Also, through the use of stories the organisation aims to give visitors enough information to get some meaning and learn from their experiences without the whole visit becoming a "history doctorate" where many different stories and details are 'force-fed' to visitors (ibid). Consequently, the organisation aims to find

'the one' holistic story that would be most engaging and appropriate for their audiences and tell it in a "warm, lively and personal tone of voice […] using rich and varied imagery and live costumed interpreters" (HRP, 2012). It is particularly this tone of voice that makes the stories of the site more approachable to different audiences. As observed during my fieldwork, the voice in the stories not only uses colloquial language but also emphasises emotional ups and downs. Also, through costumed interpretation such as an actor dressed as Henry VIII walking and interacting occasionally with visitors, the palace and its history feels to come alive.

During the interview I asked the HRP Head of Access and Learning (Interview 7 March 2013) why they felt it was important to tell on their web page that they use this particular tone of voice at the site. He stated that it was important for them to explain to visitors what they should expect before visiting the site and give them the impression that their visits would not be a history lecture but a fun day out for the family. However, this storytelling approach has not been to the liking of all visitors and "at times there can be quite vociferous campaigns if they [visitors] do not like or agree with the ways stories are presented" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). The vast majority of visitors, according to the HRP Head of Access and Learning, are nevertheless quite happy with the storytelling approach and overall experience at the site and really enjoy their visits to the palace as observed from visitors' reviews online. In fact, Hampton Court Palace and HRP in general keep a careful eye on these reviews and actively manage their social media profile. They aim to address those rare instances of dissatisfaction with the storytelling and interpretative approach employed by explaining their aims and objectives to these critical views (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013).

Among the visitors going through the doors of Hampton Court Palace each year, many are foreign and English might not be their first language. Similar to the Tower of London, this fact is a challenge for HRP, as it means that some audiences might not fully understand everything the organisation tries to tell them since most of the information is in English, including the guided tours. Nevertheless, in order to overcome the language barrier, Hampton Court Palace has audio guides in many different languages which are available free of charge to all visitors who ask for

them. Even though this is a very good tool, this type of visit is much less interactive and it tends to isolate the visitor from the rest of the site and puts them in a "bubble" irrespective of the language of the audio guide (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). It is precisely the lack of interaction that might ultimately prevent these visitors from having the same experience as a visitors who can participate in more interactive ways of storytelling such as guided tours in English and encounters with re-enactments of monarchs' daily lives. Through visitor interaction, the organisation gives visitors the opportunity to experience parts of the Palace's history for themselves in the places where it happened, rather than only read or hear it. Although many objects such as costumes and furniture have been reconstructed, it is the "association of place and story and personality and presentation that gives an additional thrill [to visitors]" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013).

Another aspect of the entertainment at Hampton Court Palace is the historic guided tours around the site that are done by a costumed guide, usually curators or trained actors (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). These actors or curators dress with a cape (either green or red) and take "visitors around the palace and give dramatic presentations about the stories and events that really happened at Hampton Court Palace" (HRP, 2012b). During the tour, visitors interact not only with the guide, but also with a wide range of costumed interpreters that are found around the site. For instance, while I was in a guided tour at Hampton Court Palace for fieldwork (7 March 2013) an actress dressed as Anne Boleyn just walked past the visitors while looking at them but not saying a word. It was interesting to see that many people seemed to enjoy this very much, and in fact switched their attention from the guide to the costumed woman.

At Hampton Court Palace and other Historic Royal Palaces sites, the seemingly non-controversial storytelling approach and its narrative outcomes do not mean that they do not encounter certain boundaries about what they can tell and exhibit. According to the HRP Head of Access and Learning, there are certain sensitivities related to the current Royal Family that needs particular attention at all HRP sites: "Sensitivities around Diana Princess of Wales [...] and the Royal Family are very strict about how items are used, displayed…posters not to have details…not

to show disrespect. That is actually the single biggest challenge… being loyal but not loyal at the same time" (Interview, 7 March 2013).

Is Hampton Court Palace Haunted?

"Hampton Court Palace has a darker side, [despite] *its grandiose and splendid façade, the history of the place has left its mark"* (Borman, 2012)

As described before, Hampton Court Palace has a dark history and a worldwide reputation for being haunted. However, neither of these dark features is used as the main attraction of the site, as opposed to what happens at the Tower of London. Nevertheless, in recent years Hampton Court Palace has identified a demand from visitors to learn about this haunted aspect of the site and started to offer ghost tours. This tour has increased in popularity and it is, most of the time, sold out very quickly after tickets go on sale, so much so that I could not take any of the ghost tours that happened in 2012 and 2013. What is more, the number of ghost tours has increased considerably as before they were only conducted at weekends for two to three months between October and December. In 2013 this was increased to six months. It is important to note however that the tours take place once the Palace is closed and when it is dark because that way it is ensured that a "spooky and interesting experience" is offered to visitors (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). However, a very clear objective of separating "these types of visitors from the visitors who come during the daytime" was also mentioned by the HRP Head of Access and Learning (Interview 7 March 2013). He further explained: "Ghosts are an enduring aspect of these places…. Ghosts and ghost stories were very popular during the 19th century […] and still are today" (ibid).

During the ghost tour visitors are taken around the palace and told different ghost stories by one of the trained Warders. The minimum age to take the tour is 15 and the tour is not recommended for those who get scared easily. Nevertheless, for those families that want to experience the haunted aspect of Hampton Court Palace, there is the possibility of taking the family ghost tour, which is the much 'lighter' and more humorous version of the adult one. This family tour allows children aged 6 to 14 to participate. The fact that the adult version of the ghost tours is for visitors over 15 years of age is quite striking, considering that the stories told are not, in my opinion, as grisly as the ones told at the Tower of London where children of all ages

are allowed to participate in the Yeoman Warder tours. An example of the stories told during the ghost tours at Hampton Court Palace is that of the so-called Haunted Gallery as it is here where more visions and contact with the paranormal has been reported over the years. According to the story, as told on the Hampton Court Palace website (2013), in this gallery the ghost of Catherine Howard [13]appears when the visitors are gone. As the story goes, Catherine Howard was accused of adultery by Henry VIII and sentenced to death (by beheading) in the Tower of London. However, she was imprisoned at Hampton Court Palace for several days while waiting to be transported to the Tower. It is also said that she once managed to escape from the guards and ran along the gallery (Haunted Gallery) to find Henry VIII and plead mercy. Yet, the guards captured her before she got to see him and she was dragged screaming along the gallery back to her quarters and she never had the chance to talk to the King. This story is sometimes told during the day visits, as per my observations, but many of the details presented on the Palace's website seem to be omitted in order perhaps not to upset certain audiences.

Similarly, differences in the level of seriousness among the ghost tours are also noticeable in the online and offline promotional material as seen in the following images: the first one (figure 15) shows the humorous and fun aspect of the children's tour while the second one (figure 16) represents the level of seriousness expected during the adult one (children over fifteen) – both images were taken from Hampton Court Palace's official web page:

Figure 15. Ghost tours for families at Hampton Court Palace

[13] Catherine Howard was Henry VIII's fifth wife, beheaded in 1542 at the Tower of London.

Figure 16. Ghost tours for adults at Hampton Court Palace
(Source figures 15 and 16: HRP, Publicity material online, 2012)

As seen above and from the accounts of key informants on the Tower of London discussed before, children as a type of audience are always taken into consideration when devising their experience at these two sites of HRP sites, not least when deciding which stories are told and how. This is because, according to HRP Head of Access and Learning (7 March 2013) "a good storyteller will tune the story to the audience, and there is a lot of training that goes into finding a tone that is appropriate for each audience". This is particularly important "where there are certain sensitivities… mainly when it comes to children as we do not want to frighten or disgust children" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013) Nevertheless, the Tower of London, as an HRP site, does not seem to be so much concerned about such a possibility as per my observations of children being exposed to gory and macabre details albeit in a witty manner.

Despite the HRP Head of Access and Learning claiming that they do not want Hampton Court Palace to be known for its "dark history", they seem to have done quite the opposite with their ghost tour offerings and other products. For example, in one of the official publications of Hampton Court Palace they included a two-page document about the sighting of the aforementioned ghost, who supposedly closed a fire exit and was captured on a CCTV camera back in 2003. So important was this so called 'apparition' that at one point during ghost tours, visitors are shown the images captured by the CCTV camera of a Tudor-dressed figure closing the fire exit, as explained to me by the HRP Head of Access and Learning (Interview 7 March 2013).

For the most part, the ghost tours around Hampton Court Palace are a "good mix of historical information and less tangible stories of paranormal activities" (Todman, 2013). At the end of the day, according to the HRP Head of Access and Learning, people who come to these ghost tours not only learn about Hampton Court Palace ghosts but also experience the exclusivity of visiting the Palace at night and they are a good way to make money to maintain the Palace (Interview 7 March 2013). Nevertheless, on a day-to-day basis, Hampton Court focuses their storytelling approach on conveying Epic stories, those that aim to generate pride and enthusiasm about particular events related to of the different royal figures (mainly Henry VIII) and other important characters related to the site. With this in mind, Hampton Court Palace could be categorised as a 'designated' (Foote, 1997) place since it is marked as a site where important events happened. However, this designation comes not from tragic events or its reputation as being a haunted place, but from a less tragic, more historical approach to the past. This designates the Palace as a place were important royals and other historical figures lived.

Holocaust Exhibition at Imperial War Museum London

"If Holocaust Exhibitions were to represent the Holocaust fully, audiences would run the risk of madness or [even] death" (Holtschneider, 2007, p90)

The Holocaust exhibition at IWML was officially opened in the year 2000 after more than three decades in the making since the original idea of opening a Holocaust exhibition in London was raised back in 1977 (Bardgett 2004, p3) [14]. For some, this exhibition seemed to be not only reasonable, but a necessity in an already well established war museum dealing with both the First and Second World Wars (Bardgett, 2004). Nevertheless, as explained in a paper by the Holocaust Education Co-ordinator, Paul Salmons (2001) opening a Holocaust exhibition was going to be somewhat problematic because not only it was located in a different country and, consequently, divorced from its original context but also it would be within the confines of a war museum. Furthermore, several ethical challenges emerged for the organisation while devising the exhibition and once it was opened. The ethical issues seemed to concentrate, according to Salmons (2001), not so much on the fact that they were telling the story of the Holocaust, but on the use of graphic images and displays that could potentially be very shocking and traumatising for some audiences.

Therefore, it was of upmost importance to find "strategies for moving [audiences] without traumatising them […] ensuring they understand the enormity of the events without titillating or horrifying them" (Salmons, 2001, p8). This was done in two ways. Firstly, the layout of the exhibition is built in such a way that visitors have 'safe areas' such as seating areas, in which they can stop and reflect for sometime about what they have seen before continuing to the next room. Secondly, every object, every picture, and every video is placed amongst others within a historical-chronological context and within the overall narrative of the exhibition so that visitors can better make sense of what they are seeing (Interview Holocaust Exhibition Curator, 14 March 2013; Field observations April 2011). Additionally, the organisation informs visitors that the material and topic of the exhibition might be unsuitable for children under the age of 14 as children "need to be prepared beforehand to ensure that the visit does not become a traumatic experience" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). Moreover, as per my

[14] Suzanne Bardgett is the Holocaust Exhibition Project Director

observations, there is a strong emotional aspect of the exhibition and this seems to be a key element of the visit, despite the Holocaust Exhibition Project Director Suzanne Bardgett's claim that their documentary approach is "one which is intended to make visitors think, rather than overwhelm them with emotion" (Bardgett, 2001, p5). The following paragraphs will discuss in detail the above matters, as well as the storytelling approach at the exhibition, the main organisational challenges, and how the organisation deals with its audience.

Exhibition Layout, artefacts and stories

The Holocaust Exhibition, despite being inside IWML, has its own entrance that physically separates it from the rest of the museum. Nevertheless, the division is not only physical but also thematic and more importantly, emotional. At the entrance of the exhibition there is always one of the members of staff from the museum to make sure people know the rules of the exhibition before they go in. These are: 1. Children under the age of 14 are discouraged from entering; 2. It is forbidden to take any pictures or videos inside the exhibition. The exhibition is actually the only place around the IWML where picture taking and video recording are not allowed. This is understandable because of the horrible nature of the displays and the crudity of some of the exhibition images, videos, and objects such as a dissection table on which a Nazi doctor conducted experiments on live prisoners. It was quite predictable that the organisation would not want people to be possibly using the material in inappropriate and voyeuristic ways both inside and outside the exhibition such as taking their own pictures- "selfies" in front of these artefacts associated with the Holocaust, and sharing such pictures on digital platforms (Field observations April 2011, September 2011).

Even though the Holocaust can be seen as relevant to the overall narrative of the museum (i.e., warfare and actual wars), according to Bardgett (2001, p1) there was a need to treat this topic in an area "sealed away from […] intrusions and [in] its own distinctive ambience". Visitors are therefore 'forced' to leave behind the joyful and noisy people eating, drinking and enjoying a day out around the museum, for a sad and sombre atmosphere. When I visited the exhibition for the first time in April 2011, I too experienced that sudden sadness, quietness and above all darkness that was 'set' upon me from the moment I went through the double doors. The darkness is

not only down to the fact that there is no natural light from any sources within the exhibition. The exhibition was deliberately made that way in order "to make visitors understand the gravity of what they are looking at and to set the tone of their visit… a sombre one… this is useful as we don't have to directly approach visitors to let them know how to behave once inside" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). Additionally, sounds inside the exhibition are kept to a minimum in order to allow visitors to concentrate, read and understand without being distracted. The Holocaust is after all "a very serious topic and we would not want our visitors to take it any other way" (ibid).

In order to access the exhibition, visitors need to go through a double door that separate it from the rest of the museum. Once inside, the exhibition is divided into several rooms, each of which looking at a different aspect of the Holocaust. It is as if the organisation wants to guide the visitors through a "journey" around the Holocaust, in which they will learn about how everything started and how everything ended, and everything in between. With this in mind, the Holocaust Exhibition follows a linear historical and thematic path that can be summarised as follows: 1. Life before Nazism (i.e., National Socialism in Germany) and Nazis; 2. Situation in Europe after the First World War and the rise of Nazism; 3. Nazi Germany and the extermination of European Jews; 4. Nazi scientific experiments and theories about race; and 5. End of Nazi Germany, resolution and testimonies of survivors. In the following paragraphs I give an overview of the exhibition layout, artefacts and stories as per my observations, supported by the information obtained through the key interview with one of IWML Holocaust Exhibition curators, and publicly available documents.

The first room of the exhibition has a semi-circular shape and has TVs and pictures all around the walls, displaying how the life was for the victims of Nazism before the atrocities began. This is a very important part of the exhibition, as "it [is] important for visitors to have an idea about the victims, about who they were and how their life was before […] these were real people with names, families […] this is a way to bring that more personal stories that will ultimately help visitors empathise with the victims throughout […]" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). Although there is a guided empathy from visitors towards victims, some

critics speculate that similar to the way visitors' empathy emerge for the victims, Holocaust exhibitions "may also generate empathy for the perpetrators, despite any righteous intentions" from the creators (Messham-Muir, 2004, p108). The exhibition's curator I interviewed stated that "this type of criticism is very rare and we do our best to make visitors understand what happened to the victims […] obviously in order to do that we need to explore the perpetrators but that is a key part of the overall narrative and crucial in order to understand the origins of the Holocaust" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). After leaving this first room, and in fact all throughout the exhibition, it is almost impossible not to go back in your mind to those images of victims' ordinary lives while looking at the displays, videos, and objects in other rooms that show the unfolding of the Holocaust and its aftermath.

After the first room, the visitor goes through a series of smaller rooms and corridors (see figure 17) that explore the situation in Europe after the First World War, and the historical events that ultimately led to the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party in Germany to power in 1933, when Adolf Hitler became the German chancellor. These rooms include detailed historical information delivered through different artefacts such as videos, newspapers cuts and cartoons, propaganda posters. These artefacts relate to events including the Beer Hall Putsch that refers to the failed military coup in Munich led by Adolf Hitler in 1923; the Great Depression of 1929 in the USA, which precipitated a worldwide economic crisis that hit the German economy particularly hard (Display panels at the Holocaust Exhibition IWML, Observation April 2011).

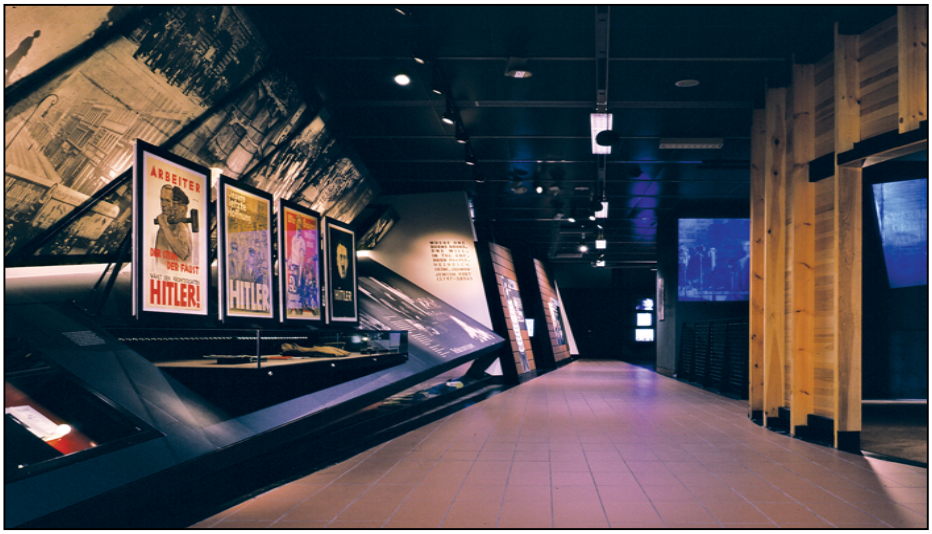


Figure 17. A corridor at the Holocaust Exhibition IWML
(Source: AtLarge, 2013)

Once visitors have a good understanding of why and how the Nazi Germany emerged, they are led to the next part of the Exhibition that explores the extermination of Jews all over Europe. From all the rooms exploring this aspect, the most poignant one and perhaps the one in which visitors spent more time (Field observations April 2011, September 2011) is the one that includes a 13 metre-long model of Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp (see figure 18), which was conceived to be like a 3D picture of the arrival of a Hungarian convoy to the concentration camp (Interview IWML Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). Also in this room and just beside the previously mentioned model, there is a large glass panel that contains personal items of those prisoners who were taken to Auschwitz-Birkenau and other concentration camps (see figure 19). When I was looking at the glass panel during my observation (April 2011) I tried to look at every single item on display as I thought to myself that each of them deserved to be looked at since they once belonged to a human being that most probably died during the Holocaust. Nevertheless, because of the large amount of items it would be almost impossible to see every single one of them. In a way, it is also the organisation's aim to make this display quite overpowering and poignant for visitors by placing for instance many shoes in different shapes and sizes on top of each other. According to the Holocaust Exhibition curator, the reason for putting the shoes in such a chaotic way in the display cabinet was to "show that they [people taken to concentration camps] were human like you and me… big shoes, small shoes… they are all proof

that they were children, women and men" (Interview, 14 March 2013). She further explained that the shoes' chaotic display is also a metaphorical representation of the forceful removal of victims from their every day lives (ibid).

Figure 18. Detail of Auschwitz-Birkenau model

Figure 19. Glass panel with prisoners' shoes
(Source figures 18 and 19: IWML, 2012)

Continuing with the historical-chronological and thematic path through the Holocaust Exhibition, the rooms that follow deal with different aspects of the extermination of Jews in Europe, including extensive information about the conditions of prisoners in the concentration camps through the use of different panels, graphic pictures, videos and artefacts (i.e. prisoners' uniforms). Whenever possible, these artefacts are linked to their original owner by providing their name

and even their picture. “These personal [details] are very important because they are very evocative” (Interview IWML Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013).

At this point, I would like to mention something quite extraordinary that happened during the interview with the Exhibition’s curator in relation to how the museum obtained these personal artefacts and stories. During our interview, the exhibition’s curator had to leave the room to collect “something [she] had been waiting for two or three years” that turned out to be a copy of a letter written in German that “tells how living conditions were at a ghetto in Warsaw and explains the desperation felt by those who were there” (Interview, 14 March 2013). After telling me how extraordinary this occurrence was, not only because they do not usually get new material for the exhibition unless they “need to fill some small gaps in the narrative” but also because the letter came that day when I was there. She further explained that they were going to “display the original letter [once the museum reopens]…alongside it a little personal story of the woman who wrote it and a translated passage from the letter that is particularly evocative” (ibid).

As described above, most of the artefacts in this exhibition are quite disturbing and unsettling. However, it is not the artefacts as such but the tragic stories, linked to them that seem to create a feeling of uneasiness (Field observations April 2011, September 2011). As the Education co-ordinator of the Holocaust Exhibition put it: “viewed in isolation [the artefacts] are wholly unremarkable […] it is the narrative and the historical context that give these objects meaning” (Salmons, 2005, para4). These artefacts combined with previously discussed exhibition techniques such as the dim lighting, the layout of the rooms, and the “obligatory silence” all “work for the visitor at a subliminal level, but never obtrude” (Karpf, 2000, n.p). The “obligatory silence” mentioned by Karpf (2000) is present all throughout the exhibition, particularly in those rooms that deal with the extermination of Jews in Europe or where graphic images and videos of victims are on display (Field observations April 2011, September 2011).

Despite not being as graphic as the ones previously described, the full-scale replica of a train carriage that was used to transport prisoners to concentration camps is also particularly harrowing for visitors, as observed and experienced during my fieldwork (14 March 2013). This carriage, which is placed on its own between two

rooms is quite striking because not only is it one of the largest items inside the Exhibition but also, in my head, the image of a carriage taking people away has always been associated with the story of Holocaust. Nevertheless, visitors are not allowed to climb or interact with the carriage. They can merely observe it from a distance while reading the information panel on the side. While I was there near the carriage, this experience brought two things to my mind: First, the Holocaust Exhibition seems to avoid any type of physical interaction between visitors and the artefacts on display, especially if there was a possibility of touching or accessing them as in the case of the replica carriage. Second, the carriage was a good example of how artefacts need to be narrativised in order to give them particular meanings beyond their 'physical' function. For instance, that carriage seems, in my view as a visitor, to be placed there to be viewed not only as a carriage but also as a symbol of the fear, uncertainty and horror the victims of the Holocaust experienced inside such carriages, where dozens of people were confined for days [some of them dying in transit] (as per information display beside carriage) while being transported to concentration camps where they would endure suffering and most likely death.

After this, visitors get to the areas that explore the different scientific experiments that were carried out on victims by Nazi doctors. The most poignant artefact of these areas is a real dissection table that was similar to those used at concentration camps. However, this particular one on display here was "found in the psychiatric hospital at Kaufbeuren-Irsee" (Bardgett, 2001, p3), not in a concentration camp. Nevertheless, several images depict some of those experiments in concentration camps, which are described in the information panels behind the table. The last room of the exhibition is a round space with seating facilities and many TVs around. Each one of the TVs plays the story of a different Holocaust survivor. In order to listen to them, visitors have to get close by, as each TV is barely audible from a distance. The room is also designed for those visitors who just need a space to breathe and take in all they have seen before existing the Exhibition. From my experience as a visitor and according to the interviewed curator (14 March 2013), this room is necessary to allow visitors to reflect and pause before leaving through the doors and into the open space of IWML. For me, this room also sent a message about hope that says that there were survivors despite the unprecedented persecution and extermination of Jews, the story of which the visitor has just experienced in the

Exhibition. To me, the experience of hearing these survivors felt as if they won against an extreme evil and all odds thanks to one of our unique feature as human beings- namely, hope.

In an attempt to perhaps counteract the non-interaction between the artefacts on display and visitors through the exhibition, one of the last rooms includes individual touch-screen computers embedded in tables. Visitors can use these computers to explore and learn more about the history of the Holocaust and its legal, political, economic and cultural consequences. This room in particular is designed to re-create a school classroom, a place where visitors can sit individually to interact with the learning gadgets at their own convenience. These are very popular with visitors, as on the two occasions I was in this room, I and other visitors had to wait for what seemed a long time (around 10 minutes) before being able to use one of computers (Field observations April 2011, September 2011).

The Holocaust Exhibition follows, as explored in detail above, a historical-chronological story. This means that no "artefact or story appears in the narrative before its timed-pointed… this approach has been the same since the exhibition opened" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). The use of stories throughout the exhibition is "key to the overall aim of visitor learning, not only within the Holocaust Exhibition but the museum as a whole" (ibid). The Imperial War Museums have a clear perspective of how stories are used at their museums and why. This is actually answered in their Equality Strategy for 2011-2015 (2011) and can be summarised as follows:

1. Stories allow audiences to make sense of conflict
2. It addresses the current and the historic to make the experience relevant to audiences
3. The museum will have an impact and this can be achieved through storytelling
4. Stories should be rich, complex, imaginative, intelligent, ethical and researched as different audiences have different learning styles (IWM, 2011)

The use of personal stories, as previously discussed, is crucial for the educational aims of the Holocaust Exhibition for all types of audiences and despite

their level of previous knowledge. "The personal stories act as a counter-narrative to the general narrative of the exhibition in that the chronology is by its existence perpetrator-lead […] and they (personal stories) give another dimension to the otherwise purely historical text which stands alongside them" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). Furthermore, the personal stories and the historical text at the Exhibition are so rich and strong in facts and emotions that they need no embellishment. The storytelling approach is thus very much evidence-based in that "we get a picture or a letter and we build the story around it. This is done with the help of relatives, archives, etc."(ibid). According to James Taylor, the Acting Head of Research and Information of IWM North (Conference 23 February 2012), the story development in each Imperial War Museum around the UK is actually very similar since it is based on the same four main principles, which are represented in the following figure:

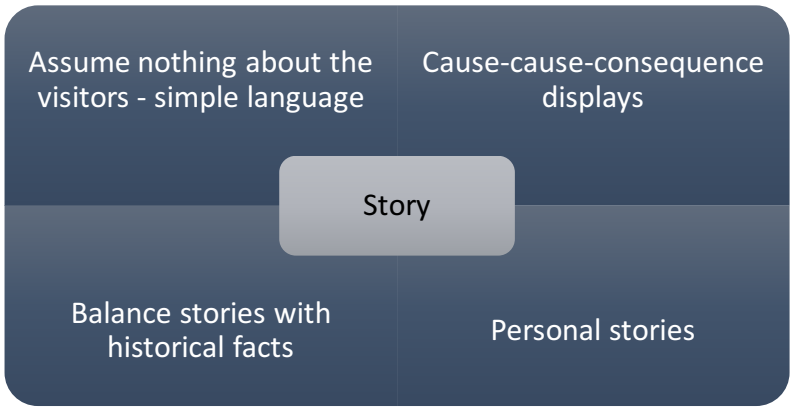


Figure 20. Story development principles for all Imperial War Museums
(Source: Researcher's own, drawn from James Taylor' conference presentation, 23 February 2012)

As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, my observation and interview findings at IWML is actually in line with these principles. To reiterate, I observed that the language used throughout the exhibition is very simple and without any adornment because the organisation "wants everyone, or at least the vast majority of [their] visitors to understand the as much as possible about the Holocaust" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). In addition, the exhibition layout, which is based the historical-chronological and causal unfolding of the events, makes it very easy to navigate from one room to the other without being allowed to skip any room, which, at the same time means that visitors do not lose the plot along the way.

The factually rich historical learning experience throughout the layout and the personal stories and artefacts balance each other out and help visitors' emotional and empathic transportation into the scale and detail of human suffering.

Between the two floors of the exhibition there is a staircase that helps the visitor to stop before continuing with the second floor of the exhibition. In this space, there is also a very long wooden bench to give visitors time to sit and reflect should they wish to do so. Nevertheless, even this reflection space is somewhat guided as just across the wooden bench there is a wall-sized picture of a Polish girl, crying over the body of her sister who was killed in Warsaw during a German air raid (see figure 21 below). The caption, which is placed at the bottom of the picture, is really small in comparison to the size of the picture because, as in the words of the curator, "the picture tells a story of its own, there is almost no need to say anything else about it" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013).

Figure 21. Picture of Polish girl crying over dead sister
(Source: taken from USHMM website)

A copy of the previous picture is printed in a huge panel that has been placed consciously between the two floors of the exhibition to "create 'a breaking point'

[but also] as a break in the narrative […] giving visitors time and a space to reflect about everything they have seen up until this point … to understand that all the pain and suffering is real" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). While I was sitting on that bench, looking at the painting I had the opportunity to observe how people reacted to it. Most of the time it was apparent that visitors found this picture quite upsetting. However, some others would pass without giving the picture a second look and straight onto the next floor. For me, out of the entire Exhibition, it was this picture and the significant amount of time I spent in front of it the hardest part of my research visit. This was perhaps because I too have a sister, and I could only imagine the terrible pain this little girl was going through. This emotional reflection made me realise that when we talk about figures on victims and casualties of war, they are not just numbers but they have a face and a story, like the deceased girl and her sister in the picture. I believe this is what the curators at the Holocaust Exhibition want all visitors to feel and understand, that every casualty and every number counts.

Later on, while I was analysing my data several things occurred to me. First of all, this picture does not seem to be directly related to the Holocaust. At the time of seeing the picture, its small-sized caption coupled with the overwhelming emotions I had brought from the previous rooms did not encourage me to investigate there and then what this picture was all about. All I could do was to sit down on the bench and juggle thinking about the immense suffering of victims during the Holocaust with trying to observe, as a researcher, other people's reactions. In hindsight, given the picture's content I could have asked myself as to why this picture was here and what it symbolised. One can argue that because of its ambiguity this picture encourages visitors to have a Writerly experience. However, the rest of the exhibition, as I experienced it, seems to be very much Readerly in terms of emotions, personal stories and historical texts. My reactions to this picture then and there can thus be seen as and example of the power of this exhibition in creating Readerly experiences regardless of the ambiguity of the artefact in question. This is in spite the fact that this section and the picture were designed as a breaking point in the exhibition and its narrative" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013).

Emotions and visitors

"Knowledge becomes understanding when it is coupled with feelings" (Lowen, 1975. p62)

As discussed in detail in the literature review, emotional experience of stakeholders such as consumers and visitors is integral to the aims and goals of organisations. Similarly, museums evoke certain emotions that help visitors better understand the stories being told and the overall narrative experience offered, and consequently learn from their visit. However, when dealing with an immensely upsetting topic such as the Holocaust, the organisation needs to bear in mind what impact the exhibition might have upon the visitors (Fleming, 2012). Exhibitions such as the Holocaust at IWML have the power to change visitors through the use of certain emotions manifested through visitor reactions such as laughing, crying, and contemplation. Nevertheless, the evocation of clear emotions such as sadness might be considered an oversimplified interpretation about the topic such as the Holocaust. Are visitors supposed to feel sad only? If that is the case, perhaps some visitors might feel excluded because they would prefer a different approach to understanding personal stories and historical events related to the Holocaust. So whose goals do these emotional responses fulfil? The Holocaust Exhibition seems to be both a museum and a memorial site, albeit detached from the original sites of human suffering in question. Being both a museum and a memorial site implies that there is a need to find a balance between educating visitors and giving them space to reflect on and understand the gravity of the Holocaust and perhaps even commemorate the victims. Nevertheless, beyond aiming to have these educational and emotional impacts on their audiences, the Holocaust Exhibition as part of IWML also "wants, as much as possible, for visitors to enjoy their visits and experiences at the exhibition" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013).

When dealing with such a historically and conceptually horrific topic such as the Holocaust, the organisation has to strike a balance between their aim for audiences to learn and the possible emotional or psychological damage the organisation can make, especially on younger audiences. It seems that in the case of the Holocaust Exhibition, by advising them against entering, IWML has made a conscious decision to prevent children to be traumatised by the whole experience at the site. However, the organisation does arrange school visits for children but "the

material is tailored to their ages and they have a preparation lesson at school before the visit" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). This visit needs to be meticulously planned and prepared by both the school and the museum as, in words of the Holocaust Education Coordinator Paul Salmons (2001), they need to ensure that children "understand the enormity of events without titillating or horrifying them with graphic images" (p8). This planning starts at the schools where teachers are sent a special package from the education department at the exhibition, which tells them how to introduce children to the topic of the Holocaust. Once the school trip day comes and children are at IWML, one of the curators talks to them in one of the specially adapted rooms and explains what they are going to see and how they should approach the exhibition, i.e., as something that needs to be taken serious but without being frightened (Salmons, 2001). During their visits, children are given a document prepared by the education department of the Holocaust Exhibition that includes a series of activities they have to do while inside. After their visits, children are taken to a separate room where they have the opportunity to reflect upon their experiences and share their thoughts with one of the curators, their teachers and classmates (Interview, IWML Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013).

All these carefully controlled and managed aspects of the children group visits to the Exhibition is not at all surprising considering what other 'unsupervised' or 'unprepared' visitors could experience in the Exhibition. The different artefacts and stories told at the Exhibition sanctions an overall Readerly narrative experience, which can emotionally be characterised by immense sadness that we, the visitors (should) all feel when watching, hearing or reading anything related to the Holocaust. It was probably for this overall narrative experience on offer that most visitors were seen around the Exhibition with a sombre face and trying to be as quiet as possible when talking to one another. There was an instance when a group of three adults were talking particularly loud in the room that holds the shoe display, and almost every person in the room turned around and looked at them as if they wanted to show a strong disapproval of this behaviour. Immediately after this, the three adults left the room, looking quite embarrassed.

Bearing the previous in mind, it is safe to say that the whole exhibition and the stories found within were initially devised for an adult audience that is able to

"understand and make their own judgement about what they are seeing" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013) as "children might not have the emotional and cognitive capacity to take in a topic like the Holocaust without previous preparation" (ibid). Furthermore, the rules inside the Holocaust Exhibition about no touching, no photographs of the displays seem to contrast with the rest of the museum, one which visitors come to see the machinery of war such as missiles, planes, and tanks. After all, "to reach the [exhibition] visitors have to pass through the atrium (open space at IWML) […] that houses the 'dinosaurs of war' – giant weapons used during the Second World War" (Karp, 2000, n.p). Thus, it seems that the rest of IWML is a place for fascination and interaction with war and organised mass killing while the Holocaust Exhibition, despite being about an evil episode of such mass killings in modern history, is all about non-interaction, reflection, and remembrance, and encouraged to be taken almost like a shrine. In that vein, visitors are not supposed to feel fascinated or curious about the Holocaust but rather feel shocked, sad and almost ashamed of humanity.

In sum, IWML seems to put a great deal of effort into educating visitors and helping them understand the full extent of the tragic events of the Holocaust through a calculated use of the 'space' and through the telling of Tragic stories of the victims of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, it seems perhaps that the Exhibition has far too many things to take in and visitors might not be able to "digest it all […] as there is such a thing as museum fatigue and […] one eventually stops understanding" (Giles, 2010). In my two visits to the Holocaust Exhibition I felt a similar physical and emotional fatigue maybe because I had two hats, that of a visitor and that of a researcher. However, other visitors seemed to have this type of fatigue too, given the fact that the Exhibition is very rich with stories, artefacts and historical texts, all directing visitors into a Readerly experience. Possibly to avoid this type of physical and emotional fatigue, the Exhibition is consciously separated into different floors and numerous rooms, with different lightings and artefacts that "allows to not only tell the stories in different ways but also to keep visitors attention" (Interview Holocaust Exhibition curator, 14 March 2013). Despite this separation, such a fatigue might also be down to the overall time spent inside the Exhibition thanks to its overall physical space that accommodates a long historical-chronological narrative with intense emotional evocations. All in all, it can be argued that this 'fabricated' site is

‘sanctified’, the same way authentic sites of death and mass human suffering are since it is a place dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Holocaust. What is more, this exhibition is “set apart from its surroundings” (Foote, 1997, p9), namely the rest of IWML, to create a special ‘space’ within that site for contemplation, commemoration and reflection about the Holocaust and the human tragedy and suffering during a conflict in general.

There is a Spaniard today, who wants to live,

and is starting to live,

between one Spain dying and another Spain yawning.

Little Spaniard coming into the world, may God keep you…

One of those two Spains

will freeze your heart

(Antonio Machado, 1912)

Case studies in Spain

All the Spanish case studies chosen for this research are related to the Spanish Civil War. Old Belchite is a site where an episode of the Civil War took place. The Guernica Peace Museum on the other hand is a later founded site in a city where another particular episode of the Civil War took place. Last but not least, The Valley of the Fallen was opened soon after the War as a 'dictated' symbol of the reconciliation of Spaniards under Franco's rule. This site is now a symbol of dichotomy among Spaniards as to what to do and how to manage heritage sites related to the conflict. The next section gives a brief overview of the Spanish Civil War to get a better understanding of the historical and cultural background of these dark tourism sites.

Spanish Civil War

"You must remember this and see that others remember" (Luis Cernuda as quoted in Graham, 2005, n.p)

In July 1936, a section of the Spanish army that was renowned for its allegiance to the Spanish Catholic Church attempted a military coup against the socialist government of the Second Spanish Republic, but failed. This section of the army had a long-running dissatisfaction with the governments of the Second Republic because they removed the Spanish Monarchy in 1931, and attempted to bring in individual freedoms and socialist reforms by pushing the Church to the margins of society (Graham, 2005; Salvado, 2005). These events and the failed coup would mark the start of the most gruesome and horrific episode in Spanish history, the Spanish Civil War. The war was "a brutal political combat […] that has gone down in history for its horrifying violence […] bloodshed and destruction" (Casanova, 2013, p81). The armed conflict lasted three years, a period in which thousands of Spaniards were killed, many more exiled or imprisoned. The demographical, physical, moral and of course civilian devastation was enormous, so much so that some figures of culture, such as the famous literary figure of the time Miguel de Unamuno, questioned whether there was going to be anything of the country left once the conflict was over: "at the end there is going to be no stone over stone left, and no living that can bury the dead […] what would happen to my Spain once it wakes up from this terrible nightmare?" (Unamuno as quoted in Robledo *et*

al.; 2007, p1). When the war ended and Spain did wake up from that nightmare in 1939, the open wounds were so deep that the pain they caused has been transmitted from generation to generation. The war's aftermath is thus still felt to this day in the Spanish society.

The Spanish Civil War was mostly a fratricidal war, which at times meant members from the same family were fighting against each other on opposite sides of the conflict. Even worse, this was not by choice as people were forced to do so by the belligerents of the war (Salvadó, 2005). These forces refer to the Republicans (those fighting in support of the Government of the Second Republic) and the Nationals (those fighting for a Spanish State in which the army would have more authority and the Church more presence in society). During the Civil War different areas of the country were controlled by one side or the other. However, as Corbin (1999) puts it, there was a parallel war, what he named "the little war" (p13): "the little war was personal [as] people knew one another, remembered insults and favours, friendships and feuds [and] betrayed or befriended one another". This aspect was and still is one of the hardest things to overcome and perhaps thus the biggest obstacle for reconciliation as "everyone knows everyone, and everyone knows who killed whom, and that you don't forget or forgive" (Informal discussion with Old Woman of Belchite, 30 September 2012). Over the course of this research I have heard this sentence in several occasions and it shows how the trauma of the conflict is still very much alive in today's Spanish society.

During the Civil War, Spain was therefore "divided into two irreconcilable enemy areas" (Baroja, 1951, p45). This division seems to continue today when the country recounts its recent past. This phenomenon is also known as "the 'Two Spains'".[15] The original concept of these two distinct sides is attributed to Antonio Machado (see Machado's poem at the beginning of this section), a celebrated Republican writer who had to leave the country towards the end of the Spanish Civil War, never to return. He died in exile in France in 1939 (Instituto Cervantes, 2014) Machado first used the concept to refer to the ongoing political division between the left and the right that had been going on in Spain before the Civil War erupted. Nowadays, this term is used to refer to not only the divided country during the Civil

[15] *Las dos Españas* in Spanish

War but also the ongoing dichotomy on what to do with the legacy of the conflict. For example, should the ruins and buildings related to the Civil War be preserved for future generations or destroyed to avoid sparking painful memories to the victims? Should the government and state institutions avoid dealing with the Spanish Civil War? And even more importantly, should Spaniards 'forget' about the conflict as the only means to leave in peace?

Bearing all this in mind, it is only understandable that in Spain to this day no single museum dealing solely with the Spanish Civil War has been opened. Similarly, at schools in Spain, the Spanish Civil War is vaguely taught. Although the Civil War is part of the curriculum, it does not seem to be a priority to teach children in detail what happened during this conflict; who were the main actors and why it happened (Interview Navarro and Canales, 20 September 2012). It seems that in Spain for some, the permanent solution for reconciliation and peaceful living amongst Spaniards is forgetting their recent history, like a collective *dismemory* (Yeste, 2010). On the other hand, others believe that studying the conflict and the disclosure of a truth that has been "sequestrated for years" (Torres, 2005, p14) is a must if justice is to be done for those who perished or suffered during and after the conflict.

The Valley of the Fallen, Madrid

"The Valley of the Fallen represents […] the climax of that 'knife' we [the Spaniards] have stuck inside us. It is that symbol that, one way or another, hurts, hurts, always hurts" (De la Iglesia[16], Spanish film director, 2010)

The Valley of the Fallen is an immense monument in the outskirts of Madrid, devised by Franco, the general that lead the Nationalist army during the Civil War and became the head of state in the aftermath of the war for more than 35 years until his death in November 1975 (Salvado, 2005). The Valley was built over the course of 18 years between 1941 and 1959, when it was officially opened to public (Olmeda, 2009) The site was to be a symbol of reconciliation between all Spaniards, a burial site for fighters of both sides of the Spanish Civil War, and a home for an order of the Benedictine monks, who would pray during a daily mass for those who perished in the Civil War as well as for peace in both Spain and the world (Patrimonio Nacional, 1985). Little was known then that 56 years later this place would be regarded by many as a place of non-reconciliation and produce such a palpable discord within the Spanish society. The Valley of the Fallen is one of the most controversial national historic sites in Spain because it is considered by many as a "striking symbol of four decades of dictatorship" (Rainsford, 2011), and it is the final resting place of Franco. However, these are only two of the many reasons why this site has been so contentious in modern Spain. Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that its stakeholders describe the site in many different ways: a museum, a cemetery, a religious site, a peace symbol, "a dark place to remind us about Franco" (Interview Canales, 20 September 2012), and a "peace symbol for all Spaniards" (Interview Father Cantera, 18 December 2012), amongst others. All the same, The Valley of the Fallen has been a very popular tourism site in Spain over the years, perhaps partially because of its manmade grandeur, and its natural surroundings, and its vicinity to the royal palace of El Escorial.

This site consists of a basilica that was carved in a rocky hill named Cuelgamuros in Spanish. On top of this hill a cross that measures 150 meters in height was erected, making it the tallest cross in the world (Patrimonio Nacional,

[16] Alex de la Iglesia directed the dark comedy movie *Balada Triste de Trompeta* in 2010 (The Last Circus) in which he uses two circus clowns as a metaphor for the divided Spain, and the woman they both fell in love with as Spain. The climax of the movie takes place at The Valley of the Fallen when the woman jumps to her death from the cross while the two clowns, hanging on to the cross, duel for her.

1960). The bottom of the cross was accessible by a funicular, where there are four huge statues representing each of the four evangelists (San Juan, San Lucas, San Marcos and San Mateo) and above them the representation of the four cardinal virtues (Justice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance) (Valledeloscaidos, 2012). Just across the entrance to the basilica, which lies 150 meters below the bottom of the cross there is an esplanade that is surrounded by the Benedictine monastery.

Despite the many debates about what to do and how to manage the site, which have been ongoing since Franco's death, it has been "during the last decade [that] the monument has been involved in a growing controversy over its current signification, its destiny, contextualisation and [this controversy] has all been sharpen by the concomitant dichotomy of Spanish Memory" (Fernandez, 2011, p496). Most of my interviewees agreed with this view that it has been recently that the site has reached its peak level of controversy. The representatives of the Association of Relatives pro Exhumation of Republicans from The Valley (APERV) believed that the recent storm about the site happens because "we have the freedom to talk now, to express our ideas and voice our disagreement about what is going on at the site and with our relatives [buried there]" (Interview Canales and Navarro, 20 September 2012). On the other hand, the head of the Association for the Defence of The Valley of the Fallen (ADVF), Pablo Linares argues that the recent controversy comes from "a political agenda that wants to distract public attention from other important matters going on in the country"(Interview Linares, 14 October 2012).

Certainly, the site has suffered greatly from changing political parties in the country over the years as each government had different ideas about what to do with it and how to manage the site. The Valley of the Fallen is managed directly by the organisation Patrimonio Nacional, which does not have any autonomy from the central government. It is therefore open to policy changes depending on which party is ruling at the time. This is despite the fact that Patrimonio Nacional has an organisational aim of "[providing] public access to the historical-artistic heritage it manages by using it for cultural, scientific and educational purposes".[17] (Patrimonio

[17] Patrimonio Nacional is in a way similar to HRP. Nevertheless, it manages a huge portfolio of "formerly Crown-owned goods and property […] passed over to the State in 1982" (Patrimonio Nacional, 2014). In this respect, it has to deal with not just the distant past of Spanish Royalty but the contemporary monarchy and society in the post-dictatorship Spain.

Nacional, 2014). Since Franco died, the conservative party Partido Popular (PP)[18] has taken an approach of leaving the site to its own devices. Such a policy consisted of not giving any money for conservation and avoiding any changes to the site. Similarly, the socialist party Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)[19] followed a similar policy of leaving the site to its own devises for many years, especially in the 1980s and early 1990s. However, PSOE has recently changed its policy and attitude towards the site and made its closure a policy priority[20]. This disparity of views and visions about the site had reached its peak in December 2009 when the by then ruling party, PSOE decided to close the site altogether for tourists and the congregation that attends mass at the basilica in the site. This decision sparked a huge public outcry and after a very-broadcasted protest by the Benedictine monks and the parishioners at the entrance of the site, it was once again re-opened for 'religious purposes only' (Patrimonio Nacional, 2011). This meant that tourists were not allowed inside unless they pretended they were there to attend mass. However, many were still accessing the basilica during the day under this pretext, including myself on my first visit (December 2010).

As discussed before, this dark site was closed to visitors mainly because of the on-going controversy of how to interpret the site and convey this to both visitors and the Spanish society. Patrimonio Nacional decided to open the site for religious reasons only in the first days of December 2010 largely because of continuous protests. The largest demonstration happened in November 2010 when more than 2,000 vehicles blocked the main access road to the site and caused more than 10 kilometres of retentions (Oliver, 2010). This protest was encouraged by the Benedictine monks, mainly by Father Cantera using social media and asking people to attend a mass that was to happen at the main entrance gate to the site (Interview Father Cantera, 18 December 2011). After this high profile protest, Patrimonio Nacional decided that the Basilica could be accessed only for prayer and religious purposes. After PP came to power in November 2011 the site was re-opened for

[18] PP henceforth
[19] PSOE henceforth
[20] Unlike the socialist governments during the transition period in of the 1970s and 1980s, which had a neutral approach to the Valley and other Civil War and Franco era heritages, the PSOE government in the new millennium decided to pass a new law in December 2007, named the Law of Historic Memory (BOE, 2007). The law is basically aimed to remove any political symbols in public spaces, related to Franco such as statues, street names, and insignias in public spaces.

tourists in the summer of 2012. The restaurant at the entrance to the funicular and the souvenir shop located at the entrance of the Basilica were not revived until months later. Nowadays the site is fully open with the exception of the funicular to the cross. Both tourists and parishioners can only access the Basilica, the restaurant, and the souvenir shop.

As part of their changing policy about the site during, the PSOE government (2004-2011) decided that a so-called *Committee of Experts for the future of The Valley of the Fallen* should be charged with the following tasks: 1) Investigate the situation of the site (e.g., state of disrepair, public controversy, current visitors, and facilities); 2) Make recommendations to improve the site's management; 3) Devise a blueprint to end the increasing controversies surrounding the site. The figures appointed to be part of the committee were regarded as quite inadequate by many of the interviewed stakeholders of The Valley of the Fallen, irrespective of their causes and/or political views. According to my interviewees, only PSOE-sympathising figures made it to the committee. This, it was argued, meant that many other voices that would be necessary to decide the future of the site, not just PP sympathisers but also other groups such as relatives of those buried there and the Benedictine monks living on-site were excluded from the committee work.

Despite their detractors, the committee presented their final report to the Ministry for the Presidency in Madrid on the 29th of November 2011 (Comisión de Expertos para el Futuro del Valle de los Caidos, 2011). The main conclusion of this report was that Franco's remains should be removed from The Valley in order to create a "common ground" for people from both sides of the Spanish Civil War and their relatives. Furthermore, the committee pointed out that failing to remove Franco's remain from the site would obstruct the construction of a common narrative for the site that could be accepted by "all Spaniards". The realization of this blueprint would make The Valley of the Fallen a place "for the remembrance of the victims of the Spanish Civil War without any political or ideological connotation" (Comision de expertos para el futuro del Valle de los Caidos, 2011, p13). Additionally, the committee expressed the need to create a new interpretation centre and a museum at the site in order to explain not only the history of the place but also the horrors of the Spanish Civil War (ibid).

Neither the Ministry for the Presidency nor Patrimonio Nacional, which is under the direct orders of the Ministry made any public announcement about their views on the report. However, the fact that the report was quickly published and discussed in all the main national newspapers gives an idea of how important, controversial and relevant this site still is for the Spanish society. In spite of this popular interest, the lack of trust in both the 'experts' and their final recommendations because of the committee's lack of inclusivity, and the fact that PSOE lost the 2011 elections can explain why this report has so far failed to lead to any real action regarding the site. Also the fact that the site and how Patrimonio Nacional manages it is very much influenced by the changing political situation in Spain might explain the conspicuous lack of information and stories presentable at the site. This lack of information and stories in turn is one of the main problems, if not the most prominent one at the site, as stated by all the interviewees. Furthermore, this official organisational 'silence' by Patrimonio Nacional continues to be a source of strong controversy. The following section deals with these matters in more detail and report on my observation and interview findings.

Controversies

"The past stands here in all its splendour, monumentality, oppression, distance and coldness. It is not a site of memory any more […] *but it has not lost its symbolism" (Cuesta, 2008, p347)*

Ever since I started my research about this dark tourism site, one question was always on my mind: "What is it with The Valley of the Fallen that provokes such extreme reactions in contemporary Spain?" (Ferrandiz, 2011, p485). There is no simple answer as to what it is exactly about The Valley of the Fallen that in fact incites not only extreme reactions but also intense emotions. Up until this day, the division between the so-called 'Two Spains' has been palpable, especially when it comes to a place some consider as "the culmination of a dictator's vanity and the repression lived during and after the war" (Interview Canales, 20 September 2012). On the other, the organisation in charge of the site actually considers it as site of "remembrance, reconciliation and religion combined" (Interview Patrimonio Nacional representative, 14 October 2012). However, all stakeholders seem to agree that the main source of controversy surrounding the site comes from the silence and lack of information about the site and its history, which also fuels the myths and

misconceptions visitors seem to have about The Valley of the Fallen. An example of these myths is the idea that Franco built the monument as his tomb. According to different interviewees (Interview Linares, 14 October 2012; Interview Barcena, 8 May 2012) it was not until Franco's death that the Spanish King Juan Carlos actually decided that this site should be Franco's final resting place. According to Linares (Interview, 14 October 2012), so rushed was the decision to bury Franco at the site that the tombstone used was re-cycled from a previously unused tombstone for another controversial figure re-buried (previously buried in the city of Alicante) at the site during Franco's time- namely, Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera[21]. Primo de Rivera was the founder of *Falange*, a Spanish fascist party, in 1933. He was killed in 1936 when the Civil War started (Graham, 2005; Salvado, 2005)

Father Cantera (Interview, 18 December 2011) explained that when the body of Franco was first brought to the site in 1975, the Abbot of the Benedictine order refused to keep the body as he feared that having Franco's buried at the site would bring problems in the future for the site. This story made me think about the difficult situation in which the monks live at The Valley of the Fallen nowadays. Despite being the inhabitants and daily users of the Basilica and monastery at the site, they have almost no saying on what goes on there, unlike the situation when The Valley of the Fallen first opened. The Benedictine order also receive no money from the entrance fee charged to visitors (Interview Father Cantera, 18 December 2011)

Coming back to the presence of *in situ* information on the site's history, this is almost non-existent. In fact, one of the first things I noticed while I was approaching The Valley on first day of my pilot fieldwork (December 2010) was the obvious lack of signs and directions to it, as if someone did not want people to find their way to this immense monument, which is visible to the naked eye kilometres away. The main entrance is not an easy place to find if someone is not familiar with the area. Moreover, during my fieldwork the site was still closed for visitors and the only way to access it was under 'religious purposes', may that be prayer or attending mass as discussed before. While walking around the Basilica and its surroundings during my

[21] His father Miguel Primo de Rivera "had been the military dictator of Spain from 1923 to 1930" (Graham, 2005.p167). The initial tombstone for Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera was not used because of a spelling mistake (Interview Linares, 14 October 2012). Falangists formed the bulk of the Nationalist front (Salvado, 2005)

fieldwork, I tried, with no avail, to find a board, poster or even a leaflet explaining what this place was and its history. Same lack of information was applicable to the foot of the cross, which I accessed during my pilot fieldwork. This lack of signage has been noticed by all my interviewees, as well as by the Committee of Experts for the future of The Valley of the Fallen. As Smith (2007) puts it, nowadays visiting The Valley "is no different to one that could have taken place in the 1960s" (quoted in Ruibal, 2009, p67) since there were no signs or explanations then.[22] This apparent non-information or conscious 'silence' by Patrimonio Nacional is particularly a contentious situation that all interviewed stakeholders disliked. This silence happens not only *in situ.* There is also a lack of publicly available information, documents and archives about the site in general.

However, some of these have recently come to light thanks to one of my first interviewees, Barcena, a university professor who had exclusive access to thousands of documents related to The Valley of the Fallen that were in Patrimonio Nacional's private archives. These documents were unexplored and uncategorised until Barcena was granted access to them by Patrimonio Nacional in return for categorising and sorting them accordingly. He was given five dusty boxes full of documents, pictures, letters and other materials about topics such as the construction process of the site, and the conditions of the workers during its construction. During the course of five years, until he presented his PhD thesis in 2013, Barcena studied and categorised more than 1000 such items and included them in his thesis appendix. One of the aims of his PhD research was to "demystify all the myths and lies told about this site by the media, the previous government [PSOE] and different associations by showing them real facts and real documents" (Interview Barcena, 8 May 2012). According to Barcena, journalists, historians and official institutions write and publish misleading information that influence people's perceptions of The Valley of the Fallen and that is the reason why it is so controversial and so "misunderstood" (ibid).

Another interviewee who felt the site is misunderstood is Pablo Linares, the founder and current head of the Association for the Defence of The Valley of the Fallen. He founded the association because he felt that the site was not given the

[22] I visited The Valley of the Fallen as a tourist with my family and foreign friends in December 2007 and such conspicuous lack of signage, stories and captions was the case by then. My family and I had to step in and act as amateur guides for our visitors providing as much information as we had. Nevertheless, the grandeur of the site made our visit quite enjoyable despite the lack of stories.

importance it deserves in Spanish history. It was instead "savagely persecuted" by different political parties and stakeholders (Interview Linares, 14 October 2012). He felt so strong about this that he wrote a book titled *The true story of The Valley of the Fallen: Story of a savage persecution,* in which he uses some of the documents explored by Barcena. Similar to Barcena's motivation for his PhD research, Linares (Interview, 14 October 2012) stated that the book was written to "put straight the many lies that have been said about the place with facts, letters and other documents that prove the real story of the site". One of the first things that Linares said during our interview (14 October 2012) was that the main controversy around The Valley comes from "all the myths and legends that are surrounding the place but mainly because of Franco being there. This does not help make the place apolitical nor reconcile Spaniards from both sides of the conflict unlike [the site's] original purpose". Equally adamant to explain and defend the reconciliatory aspect of this dark tourism site was Father Cantera, the resident Benedictine monk that I had the opportunity to interview. He explained early during our interview (18 December 2011) that "this place has been rather controversial from its opening…At the end of the day this was constructed after a very dramatic period in the history of Spain and it is fundamentally linked to this period…the reconciliatory aspect of it has not been accepted by everyone because in Spain wounds are open… very much open…" (ibid).

In fact, the main controversy of this site comes from not only the remains of Franco being buried here, but also the remains of many fighters from both sides of the Civil War. Their remains were brought from all over Spain to be buried at this site. This fact seems to be a particularly contentious issue. This is because, according to some relatives, the remains of some fighters were not properly identified when they were brought to the site for burial. Moreover, some relatives of these fighters claim that their loved ones were removed from where they fell and brought to The Valley of the Fallen without their knowledge and consent. These two claims are strongly denied by Barcena (Interview 8 of May, 2012) and Linares of the ADVF (Interview 14 October 2012). They argue almost all fighters were brought with the consent of the families and properly identified upon arrival. What is more, Barcena has provided official documents that support his claims. Needless to say, both Canales and Navarro (Interview 20 September 2012) question the veracity of these

documents. Also, the fact some of those buried here had fought against Franco's army during the war, now have to rest for eternity with "their executioner" make this site intensely painful and controversial for many (Interview Canales and Navarro, 20 September 2012).

Another controversy about the site seems to be the previously described cross of huge proportions that crowns the site (See figures 22 and 23 below). Some consider this cross as a symbol of peace and reconciliation, while others as a reminder of the Spanish Catholic Church's compliance with the horrors committed during the war. For instance, Canales (Interview 20 September 2012) argued: "As long as this monstrosity is there, we (the relatives of the republicans buried at The Valley of the Fallen) don't feel we can forgive or reconcile with anyone". Linares (Interview, 14 October 2012) agreed that the cross was a contentious symbol as "it is not seen as a peace and reconciliatory symbol as it was intended, but more as a symbol of a church that supported Franco…but that [church supporting Franco] is not the case…" Linares also claimed: "The monks pray every day for the fallen of both sides of the conflict, for the peace of their souls. However, some people think that because Franco is buried there the monks pray solely for him, which is an outrageous idea" (Interview Linares, 14 October 2012). The Vice president of the Francisco Franco Foundation I interviewed (22 October 2012) agreed with Linares' view, and pointed that "despite the site being religious, spiritual, artistic and most importantly touristic… many people do not want to recognise it as such…they think it was devised as some sort of revenge or as a culmination of vanity… they even call it Franco's Pyramid" (Interview Vice President of Francisco Franco Foundation, 22 October 2012).

Figure 22. View of the cross from access road at The Valley

(Source: Researcher's own, 2011)

Figure 23. View of the cross and main entrance to the basilica

(Source: Researcher's own, 2012)

With the different controversies and stakeholders of this dark tourism site in mind, Patrimonio Nacional has, perhaps unsurprisingly, used an apolitical and ahistorical approach to manage it as long as the party in power allowed such an approach. As the representative of Patrimonio Nacional (Interview 14 October 2012) put it: "The Valley of the Fallen is a very controversial and sensitive building as it is related to a very recent tragic event and some people believe that it should actually remain not only apolitical but also ahistorical… if that makes sense". One of the main reasons of Patrimonio Nacional keeping this site ahistorical and apolitical is, according to the interviewed stakeholders, is that over the years it has been impossible to come up with a common narrative that would embrace and satisfy all the stakeholders. Rather unpromising for a future reconciliation, each stakeholder I interviewed seemed to argue that his or her story was the sole truth about the site and therefore should be told at the site and elsewhere in Spain. Given the difficulty of such a polyphonic presentation at the Valley, at least from the storyline (plot) coherence and authenticity perspectives, it is therefore understandable that Patrimonio Nacional prefers to remain silent about many aspects of the Valley that underpin the ongoing controversies, and therefore keeps the site "purely aseptic" (Interview Patrimonio Nacional, 14 October 2012).

Silence and Trauma

"There is a 'monumental silence', or at least a monumental uneasiness regarding the remains of the war and Franco's past" (Ruibal, 2009, p66)

The "monumental silence" Ruibal (2009) refers to in the above quote has become a feature of many sites in Spain related to the Spanish Civil War, and that of the Spanish society as a whole for that matter. During the war and in its aftermath, the fear of being killed because of one's political ideology was intrinsic in people's minds, which underpinned their reticence about politics and even making the smallest remark. This general and understandable silence nevertheless continued after Franco's death in 1975, however under a different premise. According to the elite political consensus, the silence about the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship was necessary to create a harmonious environment for the society's transition to democracy (Colmeiro, 2011). In fact, the consensus even went beyond remaining silent. It was decided that no criminal investigations would take place about past crimes. The aim was to have everyone, regardless of their political affiliations and

past deeds, work together towards the common goal of having a 'new Spain' (Carcel, 2009).

As a result of the fear of persecution deeply ingrained in people's mind, older generations today, who experienced the war and its aftermath can be very reluctant to talk about what happened. This was something that really surprised me, as I always thought after all the years since the war, people would feel more comfortable talking about the conflict and what they experienced during and after the war. For example, my own grandmother, even though her family never suffered greatly during or after the war, did not want to talk about her father's political ideology. She told me that her father would always say *'Never, ever mention anything about politics to anyone, not even your best friend…you never know who might be listening'*. She also put down her family's survival during and after the war to never mentioning or talking about politics in her house. After I pressed her to reveal her father's political affiliation, she reluctantly told me that he was a republican, which she followed with *'you don't talk about this things, these things can't be talked about out loud!"* Many others in Spain share such feeling. This fear of speaking up about the horrors of the war and its aftermath or even simply about your family's political affiliation party perhaps evoked a trauma that was passed from generation to generation.

In fact, a similar fear of speaking up was quite apparent during my first fieldwork visits to the site in December 2011. During those first days, I approached two female Patrimonio Nacional's employees inside the Basilica when it was still closed for tourists but open for prayers only. Although these were not planned discussions, I seized the opportunity to get some information from them. These women are responsible for supervising visitors inside the Basilica, making sure they do not take any pictures, speak loudly, or touch any of the artefacts. They are also able to answer particular questions about the site apparently as long as these questions are not political and controversial in nature. When I first approached them, they seemed unwilling to talk much, but after I explained who I was and what I was doing- namely, scholarly research, they seem to feel more at ease. The first employee I approached on the 12th of December 2011 seemed uneasy about talking to me but I managed to have a very brief conversation with her before she left abruptly to tell one of the visitors that taking pictures were not allowed. For this reason, I did not

pursue talking to her but I was able to get some information about the site and its visitors that same day. I did see this woman (Patrimonio Nacional's employee -1) again during my fieldwork but I never asked her any more questions. For me, it was very interesting to get the same initial reaction from both women, each of whom I actually introduced myself and then spoke on different days. I felt as if there was an institutionalised suspicion on the part of these employees in the site. However, Patrimonio Nacional's employee (2) opened up to me after conversing for a while. Her attitude completely changed and she then explained her initial attitude, and that of the other employee, to me by stating that: "You never know whom you are talking with [pause looking around] or who might be listening… I thought…maybe you were from a newspaper and wanted information to publish… I don't want my name in a newspaper" (Informal discussion with Patrimonio Nacional employee (2), 15 December 2011).

Before I embarked on this study, I assumed that some people might be reticent to talk to me about certain matters regarding the Spanish Civil War and the sites I was going to be visiting, but experiencing such reticence in such blunt ways it was an eye opener. I understood that perhaps this particular employee (Patrimonio Nacional's employee -2) did not want other people to hear what she had to say about the site and the organisation she worked for. So I asked her if we could perhaps go to one side to talk with more privacy, with which she agreed. As we were chatting away, some visitors approached her with questions about Franco, such as whether he had built the site to be buried there and questioning why his body was interred right before the altar, which she refused to answer. She then told me that she cannot answer such questions as "they [referring to Patrimonio Nacional] only want us to talk about the architecture and general history of the place…. they want this place to be 'apolitical'" (Informal discussion with Patrimonio Nacional (2) employee, 15 December 2011).

The main manifestation of this aseptic or apolitical approach to telling anything at the site is the lack of signage, guides, information boards or any narrativised artefacts that explain anything other than the architectural details of the place. Regarding the information boards present in the site, one of the first things I noticed when I started my fieldwork was that these were the same boards I had seen

in previous visits to the site as an ordinary visitor. I was quite surprised not only because of the dilapidated state of these boards and their size (A4), but also because the official story of The Valley of the Fallen had remained the same despite many stakeholders voicing the need to change it. In fact, these information boards-namely, small A4 size papers inside a fading plastic stand are the only piece of information one can find about the place. Most of this information is about the architecture of the Basilica and what the different statues placed in its carved dome and walls represent. Unsurprisingly, I could not observe anything in these information narratives that would hint at the semiotics of the place such as its original purpose during Franco's rule, and why it creates controversy in today's Spain. In the few instances when Franco is mentioned in the site's information panels, it is done in a neutral way and Franco is only referred to as head of state. This seems to ignore many of the political connotations that Franco's rule in Spain had such as dictatorship and fascism.

Additionally, at the entrance of the basilica there is an old sign that asks for respect, silence and dress decorum. Nevertheless, there is no explanation as to why this is a place where silence must be kept or why should people dress in a certain way, apart from anyone's common sense explanation that it is a place of worship. Nevertheless, after finding and reading one of the small A4 boards in a far corner of the basilica's transepts, one can learn the fact that the basilica is also a mausoleum, a place where around the remains of 33,000 men from both sides of the conflict are buried behind its transept walls. As Father Cantera explained to me, these remains are placed inside the many crypts that were purposely constructed to contain a large number of boxes with the remains (Interview 18 December 2011). These remains were collected from village cemeteries or mass graves usually found on the side of roads all over Spain. They were placed in large sacks where the remains of different people would mix, making proper identification of the bodies almost impossible (Interview Father Cantera, 18 December 2011; Interview Navarro and Canales, 20 September 2012). Some of these remains, as discussed before, were allegedly taken to The Valley of the Fallen without the consent of their relatives (Interview Navarro and Canales, 20 September 2012). Once the sacks arrived at the site, these were placed in large boxes identified by the place of collection, for example, Belchite (Zaragoza), but no individual names were written (see figure 24). The way the remains were collected, transported and classified is something that remains

controversial and contentious for many relatives. For them, this was done without consent and without dignity (Interview Navarro, 20 September 2012). However, there are others who believe that asking for relatives consent before taking the remains to The Valley of the Fallen would have made the task impossible, especially for those remains that were collected from mass graves on roadsides (Interview Barcena, 8 May 2012). Yet, the same cannot be said for those remains that are taken from village cemeteries.

These historical events told to me by different stakeholders are indeed controversial. Perhaps, they also generate a bigger malaise amongst relatives, as most of them do not know where their relatives had fallen and buried. They also have to live with the fact that their loved ones were perhaps buried with their enemies who might have in fact killed them. Canales and Navarro from the APERV (Interview 20 September 2012) confirmed these facts and possibilities as a great source of pain and grief for the relatives of the fallen: "They [the fallen] are somewhere in one of those boxes that we are not allowed to retrieve, they are unnamed and to add salt to the open wound, they are all mixed together and we, our families can't bring them flowers because there is no place to put them, there is no tomb…there is no dignity…" (ibid).

Figure 24. Arrival of boxes with remains to The Valley of the Fallen[23]

(Source: ADVF, 2014)

[23] Between 1959 to 1983 the remains of around 33.000 fallen were brought to the site (Ministerio de Justicia, 2012).

Furthermore, the fact that Franco is buried in a single grave in the middle of the basilica right before the altar while the fallen of both sides of the war are found behind the walls (see figure 25 for a view of one of the crypts) perhaps gives the message that "some dead are more important than others despite the fact that they all fought in the same conflict" (Interview Canales and Navarro, 20 September 2012). Especially, the relatives of the fallen could see this as a situation of "inadmissible funerary hierarchy" (Elorza, 2014). Bearing in mind the large number of remains buried at the site and their significance for the 'desired' reconciliatory symbolism of the site, one would assume that this would be an important aspect to explain to visitors. Nevertheless, the only information visitors can find on that small information display in the site is an estimated number of people buried. There is not a single word about many of the aspects that could be explained such as why the fallen were brought to the site, under what conditions they were buried, and what their families thought of this.

Figure 25. Inside one of the crypts and human remains

(Source: ADVF, 2014)

Another source of controversy about the Valley is the number of prisoners forced to work in the Valley's construction and subsequently perished. Nevertheless, there is no mention of this at the site. According to Bercana, only 15 people lost their lives during the Valley's construction, not thousands as it is widely believed (Interview, 8 May 2012). Barcena argued that Patrimonio Nacional should make a bigger effort to explain such aspects of the site, some of which he discovered during

his own research. He added that such a factual approach by Patrimonio Nacional was rather difficult to achieve owing to the political influence on the site and how "each government wants something different for the site and consequently they treat it differently" (Interview 8 May 2012).

Despite the controversies surrounding the history and semiotics of The Valley of the Fallen, all my interviewees agreed that the biggest challenge for this site is bringing everyone together around a common narrative about the Valley and consequently giving a new significance to the site. After all, "problems do arise between not only those who want to forget and those who want to remember, but also those who choose different ways of remembering" (Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2007, p1).

Their story is not our story…

As stated above, one of the main acts that could end the growing controversy surrounding the site and perhaps contribute to the reconciliation of the 'Two Spains' would be to create a common narrative that would bring together all "those who choose different ways of remembering" (ibid). Nevertheless, according to my interviewees, this is almost an impossible task. As Canales, the co-head of the APERV put it: "Their story is not our story…we don't want a common narrative, we have our own narrative and our own stories but they won't let us tell them…we are the victims" (Interview, 20 September 2012). Navarro, the other co-head of the APERV added that "asking them to be contended with a common narrative was "like asking a Holocaust survivor to create a common narrative with the SS [elite Nazi soldiers] … It would be unthinkable" (Interview, 20 September 2012). This way of thinking, albeit in less emotionally charged ways, came up time after time when referring to the possibility of a common narrative. For example, Barcena argued that "it is impossible to have a common narrative since there will always be divisions of what to say and explain among historians, politicians, etc." (Interview, 8 May 2012). Additionally, the Vice-president of Francisco Franco Foundation argued that "it is absurd to even think that having a single story it is possible" and suggested instead "different people should write and tell whatever they consider the truth and then let the readers or visitors decide which truth they want to believe" (Interview, 22 October 2012). Such a vision implies an outcome that allows different stories to co-

exist at The Valley of the Fallen, as long as "they have facts and data to corroborate them" (ibid).

Even if such a polyphonic storytelling approach was adopted successfully, the question seems to remain as to who has the responsibility/right to collect, corroborate and tell which stories towards a what sort of common overall narrative for the site. As the Francisco Franco Foundation representative said "who has the authority to impose a narrative, a story, a particular 'truth' over the other?" (Interview, 22 October 2012). When I asked Barcena the same question, he argued that "it should obviously be Patrimonio Nacional, it has always been them managing The Valley. When the monks came to live there, Patrimonio Nacional made it clear that they were responsible for the running of the site and not the monks. Since then, the monks have "not had much saying in what goes on there […] apart from all those things related to the masses or the school" (Interview, 8 May 2012). After reminding me of his view about the government's political influence over Patrimonio Nacional, Barcena went on to argue that "for many years no political party has wanted to take the responsibility for creating a common narrative or any narrative for the Valley for that matter " (ibid). Similarly, Linares, the head of the ADVF believed that "a common narrative won't have any benefits for the site…even worse, it might increase the current climate of hostility towards the site as it will be hard to come to a consensus as to what that common narrative might be" (Interview, 11 October 2012). However, he did agree with other stakeholders' view that Patrimonio Nacional should do more and tell more about the site. Linares actually claimed that his association has approached Patrimonio Nacional many times to facilitate the representation of these different views at The Valley of the Fallen, to no avail (ibid).

This need to tell more about what this site does and represents, especially beyond its dark history was also pointed out by Father Cantera: "Patrimonio Nacional has always used a very aseptic approach to telling the story of the site. I think it would be good to tell a bit more…about what we [the monks] do here… the school, the kids…they rarely mention us" (Interview, 18 December 2012). However, Father Cantera argued that reaching a common narrative that would make everybody reconcile would be very difficult: "the best vehicle for reconciliation of all parties involved is through our prayers… everyday we pray for all the buried here and for the peace in Spain and for the peace around the world actually" (ibid).

So what does Patrimonio Nacional actually think about the possibility of bringing all these stakeholders together in the creation of a common narrative for the site? The Patrimonio Nacional representative I interviewed claimed that in fact "there is no possibility of a common narrative after a war, because the one that wins the war is the one that writes history and dictates the narrative" (Interview, 14 October 2012). It seems that there is no consensus among various stakeholders over who should be responsible for choosing the stories of the site and leading the way towards creation of a common narrative acceptable by all stakeholders. Even if a decision of 'who' could be made, the subsequent difficulty would be deciding which ones are the 'right' stories to tell towards that common narrative solution for the site. A solution proposed by some of the interviewed stakeholders such as Linares from the ADVF and Canales and Navarro from the APERV was to benefit from the Valley's popularity with tourists and open an interpretation centre at the site in which all seemingly clashing stories with their distinctive plots would be presented to tourists, who are currently presented with hardly any information *in situ*. However, opening such a centre is not in Patrimonio Nacional's agenda as according to their representative "there is nothing to interpret or to research, only stories to tell and they are all different…in any case we want to keep the place as aseptic as possible and opening such as facility would go against this approach" (Interview, 14 October 2012).

The above explored opinions about the past, present and future of the Valley strongly point to a status quo of systematic differences and disagreements, which seems to underpin Patrimonio Nacional's justification for their aseptic and ahistorical management approach in the Valley. Having explored this, it seems to me that the Spanish history is condemned "to be anything other than a horror story full of *esperpenticos*[24] monsters that Spanish society was too anxious to confront [after the war] and that Spain remains too cowed to confront properly" (De Menezes, 2014). After all, given these stakeholder dynamics, which can be seen as manifestations of the 'Two Spains', it seems that the big questions will continue to be "Why are we (Spaniards) still fighting? Why don't we reconcile once and for all? Why do we always systematically disagree to what the other is saying, whatever happens?" (De la Iglesia, 2010). Unfortunately, from what I gathered during my fieldwork, all the

[24] *Esperpento* is a Spanish word that has no literal translation in English and refers to a grotesque act or a very ugly person that is hard to look at (RAE, 2014)

different voices that have a say about The Valley of the Fallen are nowhere closer to getting an answer to these questions. Nevertheless, some consider the touristic potential of the site as a way forward to deal with many of these controversies surrounding the site. This visitor aspect is discussed in the following section.

Visitors and emotions

Despite all these issues and controversies around the site, The Valley of the Fallen is still one of the main dark tourism attractions related to the Spanish Civil War in Spain. Ever since it was re-opened to tourists, the number of visitors has continued to increase (Interview Linares, 11 October 2012) According to Patrimonio Nacional, visitors to the site come from all over the world and they all come for different reasons, but mainly for its architectural and artistic value (Interview Patrimonio Nacional representative, 14 October 2012) Nevertheless, this type of touristic activity does not happen without problems. According to Barcena (Interview, 8 May 2012) one of the main challenges at the site is fulfilling visitors' expectations but debunking the many erroneous ideas and myths they seem to believe about the site. The head of the ADVF, Linares argued that these erroneous ideas and myths are sustained because to get a pre-visit idea about the Valley visitors have no way other than doing "their own research at home, on the Internet or through TV programmes… the worst part [of this] is all the myths people believe about this place… there is no substance to any of them it is all lies… lies… like when they say that thousands of prisoners died during its constructions. There were not even that many workers there in all the years of construction and we have the documents to prove it" (Interview, 11 October 2012).

As mentioned before, Linares founded the ADVF because he felt that The Valley of the Fallen "needs to be defended from those who want to destroy it or manipulate its meaning and spread lies" (Interview, 11 October 2012). Furthermore, Linares seemed very concerned for what visitors are getting out of their visit because of the lack of official information and narrative about the site's multifaceted history. He claimed that many visitors actually come to the site with their own guides, and worse some visit the site to fulfil a "morbid obsession with seeing Franco's tomb and perhaps to find something out about the esoteric or paranormal side of the building, but not to learn its history" (Interview, 11 October 2012). All the same, Patrimonio Nacional does not think that changing people perceptions "is a priority at the

moment since that would imply deciding over one story over the other", not to mention having to create an overall narrative that is more substantial than what was on offer during my observations. Finding out about and managing visitor expectations is "not something we [Patrimonio Nacional] feel responsible for" (Interview Patrimonio Nacional Representative, 14 October 2012)

As explained before, the Patrimonio Nacional's aseptic approach to managing the site is felt throughout the visitation and even more so in the visitation's emotional aspect. Unlike established dark tourism sites that aim to exploit and use the emotional aspect of their sites for both education and entertainment, The Valley of the Fallen does not follow this path. Despite being an emotionally charged site, where I would assume that Patrimonio Nacional would want to transmit a feeling of remembrance and sadness in line with the site's original aim of reconciliation, this aspect is not utilised at all. Navarro of the APERV (Interview, 20 September 2012) agreed with this view and claimed: "Patrimonio Nacional avoids provoking certain emotions on visitors by not telling them the whole story. Everything is 'sweetened' for visitors; they believe that this place is so lovely, so peaceful as if it was normal. However, they don't know the true horrible story of this site" (ibid)

Patrimonio Nacional's employee (1) inside the Basilica argued that visitors "don't feel anything special…and they are not supposed to… they just want to come and then go back home and tell their families, neighbours, etc. that they have been here…I don't think they feel in a particular way" (Informal discussion Patrimonio Nacional employee (1), 12 December 2011). During a different visit, on September 2012, I had the chance to chat several Patrimonio Nacional employees (such as outdoor security guards or gardeners) in what had been a previously dusty restaurant (as per pilot observations in December 2011) but was now fully refurbished and brought to life again. We talked about the fact that visitors are not allowed to take pictures inside the basilica and are asked to remain silent while inside, as well as why this should give them a feeling of respect and sadness once inside. They seemed to agree that this kind of emotional effect was the aim of Patrimonio but in reality some visitors would just come in, take a sneaky picture of Franco's tomb and leave, without even looking at the rest of the site or what it represents. These employees seemed quite upset about this aspect and one of them added: "We can't talk about politics here [to visitors], we can't talk about much in fact because after all the site is

seen as a tourist attraction where people come and enjoy their visit, spend the day here, but nothing else" (ibid).

In general, at The Valley of the Fallen visitors do not seem to feel in any particular way, apart from perhaps being amused and awed by the sheer grandiosity of the place (as per my observations). The absence of narratives and stories at the site combined with general lack of previous knowledge about the site means that most visitors come and go and are none the wiser about the relation between this site/ building and the Spanish Civil War, apart from the fact that Franco is buried there (Informal Discussion Patrimonio Nacional employee (2) 15th December 2011). Nevertheless, through the different interviews with a variety of stakeholders I realised that this site can generate a wide range of emotions on visitors, particularly Spanish visitors, depending on whether they hold particular political views and/or if they have an association of victimhood with the site. Visitors supporting right wing political parties would perhaps feel that this site is the symbol of what Franco achieved for Spain, 'grandiosity and order' while those visitors of left wing political ideas may consider it the ultimate symbol of 'repression and murder'. For those with relatives buried there, the site may evoke strong emotions of sadness, grief but also frustration and desperation to know that their relatives are laid to rest with those who they fought against. For foreign visitors or those who have no political, victimhood or any other link to the site would probably come and go without feeling any strong emotion as there is no space created for them to attach any meanings to this site, it is just a place.

Towards the last days spent there for my observations I started to feel quite sad and at the same time frustrated that many visitors would not respect the request to keep their voice down. Many only seemed to care about going to see Franco's tomb without paying attention to any other aspects of the site. But above all, my frustration came from the fact that thousands of people are buried there, killed during a senseless war and because of the aseptic approach of Patrimonio Nacional their sacrifice seems to be condemned to oblivion and indifference. I therefore understand why some relatives of those buried there, like Fausto Canales and Susana Navarro, want their dead to be removed from the site and taken into a cemetery where they can be properly mourned. With all this in mind, it is safe to say that The Valley of the Fallen is very much a Writerly site where the interpretations and meanings given

to the site are as varied as the visitors that come through its doors. At the end of it all, I could not help but agree with De la Iglesia (2010) in that this site is a symbol that hurts and always will hurt until Spaniards can narrativise their past. However, in order for that to happen they should face this hurtful past first and from what I gathered during this study, that is not likely to happen anytime soon.

What is more and given the Patrimonio's aseptic approach, manifested in its storytelling and visitor engagement, it is not surprising that there are many alleged misconceptions, myths and lies told and believed about the site. Unsurprisingly, despite lacking a meaningful overall narrative, not to mention stories, the Valley therefore suffers authenticity issues in relation to visitor experiences. Linares, the head of the ADVF blames this outcome on the Patrimonio Nacional's approach of not allowing their employees to talk to visitors about many aspects of the site besides its architecture (Interview, 11 October 2012). In fact, Linares and the ADVF have been trying for several years to change this situation through urging Patrimonio to change its storytelling approach (ibid). Moreover, the ADVF has an unofficial webpage of the Valley to help tourists wishing to visit the site. They also keep social media presence to increase the looking The Valley of the Fallen's presence there.

To prove his point that visitors want to hear more stories about the site than what is barely present, one day Linares decided to do a small experiment with visitors. This experiment consisted of taking a group of visitors around the site in early 2012 [he did not specify the date during the above interview] and acting as a private guide without revealing his role in the ADVF. In this tour, Linares apparently told his tour members all the things he considered to be popular lies and myths or what he believed tourists expected to hear about the site. After this, he revealed who he actually was to the visitors and asked them to take what he considered the 'real tour' of the site. At the end of both tours, most visitors agreed that despite finding the first tour more entertaining, they would prefer to hear the second one with all the 'true' details.

Patrimonio Nacional is aware that some people visit the place because, as its representative puts it: "there is a sinister fascination with the place" and in fact "many people go there for the story but many other go there looking for the so-called darker stories of the site…however most of them if not all are all lies" (Interview, 14 October 2012). Additionally, when I asked Patrimonio Nacional's representative

about the lack of guided tours around the site, he argued that it would be hard to control what is said and what is not around the site, and perhaps even to "choose one story over the other" (ibid). It therefore seems that guided tours in the Valley is not something Patrimonio Nacional is planning to do in near future. Most visitors seen around the site with guided tours are "foreigners and they come with their own guide so we have little input in what these tourists hear once they are here" (Informal discussion with Patrimonio Nacional employee (2), 15 December 2011).On the other hand, Patrimonio Nacional has published several official guides of the site in which "visitors can get most of the information about The Valley of the Fallen" (Interview Patrimonio Nacional representative, 14 October 2012). The main reason behind having guide books as opposed to human guides around the site is that "guide books can be modified at any time… some things are best not told or told in a different way. This way we ensure we have control over what is told" (ibid). As an important stakeholder, the monks at the site have almost no say in what is said or not to visitors to the site. As Father Cantera explained "occasionally we [the monks] are told to guide some important visitor, mainly religious figures around, but apart from that we have never been asked by anyone what we would like visitors to be told or not told for that matter" (Interview, 18 December 2011).

Another aspect related to tourists' emotional and educational experience in the site has been quite contentious. This related to the aforementioned learning centre idea proposed by various stakeholders. The question of whether the site should be transformed into a museum about the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and all the atrocities committed by both sides has brought on numerous criticism and ideas about the possible outcomes of what this new museum might look like. The essence of criticisms seems to be the belief in the impossibility of bringing all the stakeholders to have an input in what is to be said and displayed in the museum. Some even claimed that the site after such a transformation with inputs from all the stakeholders would become an attraction park, something that would make a mockery of the Civil War and its aftermath, and thus not be taken seriously. The image below (figure 26), taken from DDRitter (2011), is a pictorial example of such a concern, speculating what the future of the site would look like in 2014. In this image the cross has been transformed into an attraction and the name of the site changed from The Valley of the Fallen to The Valley of the Falling. Furthermore, the

larger caption reads: “Say what you like, but as a reconciliatory monument it definitely works”.

Figure 26. The Valley of the Falling
(Source: DDRitter, 2011)

This seemingly cynical idea that a museum of ‘all sides – all truths – all atrocities’ would somehow turn into some sort of attraction park where you ‘have everything you want’ is more widespread than I initially thought. Recently, in a short documentary on a Spanish TV channel about The Valley of the Fallen, a reporter asked several people what they thought about opening of a museum or interpretation centre at the site. One replied: “Some want to create a funfair there, something like a funfair of the Spanish Civil War… it is a joke…they will create a Disneyland in which they will tell their version of events… we already have funfairs we don’t need anymore” (Infiltrados en el Valle de los Caidos, 2013). It seems that there is a widespread concern about any transformation in the Valley of the Fallen because of the fear that ‘one side/one version of events will prevail over the other’ or “tourists will arrive to this amusement park and learn about who were the good guys and who were the bad” (Merlos, 2013). Such an “othering” potential for the Valley of the Fallen is not inconsiderable given the above-mentioned views of different stakeholders. The Valley given its history and current state evokes symbols such as

‘war and victor’s story’, ‘Nazi like persecution’, ‘myths and lies about an otherwise reconciliation shrine/monument’.

Both Canales and Navarro, the co-heads of the APEVR, argued that in Spain both the educational and touristic aspects of sites related to the Civil War are not fully used. They compared this to the situation in Germany where “they take people to the places linked to the Holocaust and they explain the whole story… how some tried to escape, how some died, etc. This is something missing here… they take full buses to The Valley of the Fallen but most of them leave without knowing even where they were or what it signifies for us, the relatives of those interred there” (Interview, 20 September 2012). Understandably, the latter situation must be particularly painful for those who have relatives buried there as “tourists visit it as a part of a package, they visit El Escorial and The Valley of the Fallen and then they go for lunch… they do not fully understand the significance it has for us for example… for the victims” (Ibid). Navarro was particularly emphatic about what was “wrong” with “tourists and the Valley”: “The problem is not the tourist numbers. It is the fact that they leave the place without knowing anything about the site… That place is horrible; no one knows what is there…. not even Patrimonio knows.” (Interview, 20 September 2012).

Canales and Navarro criticised Patrimonio also for their approach to tourism in the site: “Patrimonio thinks about tourists as something casual, something good that brings money to the area. The problem we see with this is that there is not enough information. They don’t say that many Republicans are buried there, they don’t tell all the atrocities that were committed there [such as the belief that many forced workers died during its construction and the forceful burial of Republicans at the site]…Why don’t we take the example of Germany?” (ibid)

The APEVR’s co-heads’ comparison of Spain and Germany for dark heritage site usage and storytelling is not surprising, given how they conceptualize and associate themselves with victimhood in relation to being Republicans during and after the Civil War. Moreover, these people as a stakeholder group have a direct emotional link to the site as the relatives of victims who are presumably interred there. In this vein, even if a museum that had a strong educational aim over others was founded there, this does not seem sufficient enough to stop this site from being

contentious. As Navarro and Canales of the APEVR explained, for them "creating a memorial, telling the stories of the fallen is not enough for us. We want the remains of our relatives to be returned to us, and after that, we could talk about opening a museum, but not now" (Interview, 20 September 2012).

As discussed before, Canales and Navarro saw the burial of the fallen from both sides of the Civil War as something akin to "victims lie together with their executioner" (ibid). The fact that many fighters, even brothers were forced to fight in the Civil War without a choice of taking sides does not seem sufficient enough for many victim groups as a reconciliatory ground for the transformation of the Valley and other sites associated with the Civil War. At least for the APEVR, there is a clear victim in the Civil War and its aftermath, which implies that 'the other' should be nothing other than a 'perpetrator'. On the other hand, Barcena, the university professor who explored The Valley of the Fallen for his PhD research argued that although creating an interpretation centre would be a good idea, he would not "want to see a 'Franco's horror museum' at The Valley of the Fallen… because I know what they do in such places…. they put black and white pictures of horrible things but do not tell you anything about what really happened. Perhaps it would be better to have a centre for social studies that would help us study and explain all the injustices that have been done in the past" (Interview, 8 May 2012).

In sum, The Valley of the Fallen is controversial as ever owing to its history and current state. Although different stakeholders seem to agree that more should be said *in situ* regarding the history of the place and what its contents [should] signify, there is no consensus over who should be responsible for doing so. What is more, everyone points out the difficulty of creating a common overall narrative that would embrace all the people involved with the place. After all, as Father Cantera put it "The Valley should bring all Spaniards together, the same way those who fell confronting each other are twinned here, facing eternity together" (Interview 18th December 2011). However, twinning together the 'Two Spains' and coming up with a common narrative seems to have proven very tricky so far since Patrimonio Nacional as the site manager faces many difficult and horrible 'facts' that unfortunately seem to be mutually exclusive to different stakeholder. These differences imply polysemic and controversial narrative outcomes. As a solution, encouraged and endorsed by ruling political parties of Spain for most of the post-

Franco era, Patrimonio Nacional strives to keep the site as aseptic and silent as possible. In sum, what Patrimonio Nacional aims is to 'obliterate' (Foote, 1997) any remains (physical and non physical) that would relate the site to the Spanish Civil War by keeping the site aseptic and ahistorical. Nevertheless, such an approach seems to generate an interpretative space where many 'myths and lies' are believed to be re-enacted and tragic stories are told and shared by visitors and other stakeholders.

Ruins of Old Belchite, Zaragoza

Historical context

"You have to contemplate this place, come close to it, step on it, touch it and feel it in order to understand its history" (BelchitePuebloViejo, n.d)

The old village of Belchite in Zaragoza (Old Belchite) Spain is the site of what many consider one of the bloodiest episodes of the Spanish Civil War in which around 5000 people were killed, including civilians and fighters from both sides of the conflict (Montanya, 2002). This happened in a period of less than 15 days. To be precise, between the 24th of August and the 6th of September of 1937, Belchite "went through a war that would leave a third of the village reduced to ruins (see figures 27 and 28) and opened a wound in the Spanish collective memory that would take a long time to heal" (Interview Official Tour guide, 29 September 2012).

During the first days of the Republican offensive over Zaragoza on the 24th and 25th of August, the small village of Belchite was sieged, which cut the National fighters there from the rest of the National forces that controlled Zaragoza. As the National fighters in the village had no chance of escaping, Republican fighters then slowly cornered them towards the centre of the village. As Belchite was a small village, each day a new building (e.g., a church, an oil factory) in outer village would be taken individually as to tighten the circle on the National fighters. The Republican force also cut the village's water supply and subjected the National fighters to heavy artillery fire. As the National fighters were gradually cornered to the main street, they took defence positions in almost every house in the street (Larrazabal, 2006). To force the Nationals out of their positions, the Republicans decided to advance house by house with the use of hand grenades. Those National fighters who survived the explosions tried to dig holes and tunnels between houses to move towards the main church where the planned to take refuge (Interview official guide, 29 September 2012). Many inhabitants were able to escape before the offensive started, but others were not so lucky. This meant that those left in Belchite would find themselves in the middle of a fierce battle for the village.

Days after the conflict started, none of the sides were giving up. The impossibility of burying the dead combined with the intense heat of the Spanish summer meant that the stench of rotting bodies started to be overpowering. On the 5th of September, the Republicans captured the church and all those fighters who

took refugee there. However, this was not to be the end of Belchite episode of the Civil War. That night the remaining Nationals in the village tried to break the Republican circle to escape, however from around 300 of them, only 80 survived and escaped. On the 6th of September 1937, the village was officially declared Republican. Less than a year later, in May 1938 the National forces re-took Belchite. After the Spanish Civil War, Franco decided to build a new village just beside the ruins as a symbol of two different political systems: "New Belchite as a symbol of the new Spain governed by the Nationals; and the ruins of Belchite as a symbol of what the Republicans were capable of"(Vazquez, 2010, p241). What is more, Republican prisoners were brought to Belchite to build the new village. These workers and surviving residents of Belchite were accommodated in big barracks purposely built in the vicinity. This huge complex would become known as the *Little Russia* because of the large number of Republicans living there amongst other workers and villagers. Today, not only the old village of Belchite but also these barracks have been left in ruins.

Figure 27. Ruins of the main street in Old Belchite
(Source: Researcher's own, 2012)

At this point, a story told to me during an informal discussion with someone from the village at the local pub (28 September 2012) reveals some of the horrors that must have been experienced by the fighting sides and residents in the village.

This story was passed on to this person by his father who was a survivor of the conflict. However, this person did not want to disclose to me whether his father was a fighter or a civilian, despite me asking him directly. His story goes as follows:

The battle of Belchite was fought not around the village but house by house by the Republicans and the supporting forces of the regime. Many inhabitants died within the first few days of the conflict and only around 75 families managed to escape before the village was 'sealed'. Once it was not possible to leave the village, piles and piles of dead bodies were scattered all over the place and it was impossible to bury them. They were therefore either burned or thrown into a water tank. Some say that due to the large quantities of corpses there was a river of blood going down the main avenue and one could not see the cobblestones anymore, only blood and corpses. But the worst part was the stench of the rotting flesh[...]it was nauseating. However, this did not deter soldiers from using piles of bodies as shield.

Old Belchite: Between remembrance and oblivion

The old village of Belchite is in a very remote area, a place where you need to travel by car and unlikely to find by chance. When I approached the new Belchite on my first day of fieldwork (28 September 2012) I could see the ruins of the old one in the background, away from the new houses and buildings, it looked like a really picturesque composition, a blend between old and new but also a sad reminder of the terrible things that happened there. Later on, most of my interviewees explained how looking at the ruins would bring back painful memories, regardless of whether they lived the war or heard stories from their relatives. However, this is a feeling that is not exclusive to those people who are related to the conflict. A particular eerie and sad aura surrounding Old Belchite easily embraces visitors. Perhaps, it is true that "the horrors of the war, the pain, the blood and the hatred were all impregnated in the walls of Belchite and this is what the ruins transmit to us today" (Cuarto Milenio, 2011).

So why is Old Belchite between remembrance and oblivion? This question is linked to local debates ongoing almost since the new village was built in 1954 (Astorga, n.d) regarding what to do with the Old Belchite: Should it be forgotten and destroyed to avoid evoking negative emotions for those affected by the conflict? Or, should it be restored to remember and commemorate those who died during that tragic episode of the Spanish Civil War? While this local debate continues more

freely after Franco, who kept the ruins as a symbol of 'the consequences of a Republican Spain', Old Belchite is "in a limbo… a place between remembrance and oblivion" (Interview official guide of Belchite, 29 September 2012). In order to find answers to the previous questions I now turn to my fieldwork experiences and interview findings.

On my first day in Old Belchite (28 September 2012) I had the opportunity to visit the ruins on my own. I wanted to visit the ruins on my own before taking the tour with the official guide so that I could get a better understanding of what visitors feel and see when they come to Old Belchite for the first time and without a guide. Despite being 9.30 in the morning of a beautiful quite bright day, I was apprehensive at first to venture into the ruins on my own. My apprehension stemmed from two concerns: Firstly and rationally my safety given the state of ruin in the old village; secondly and irrationally some stories I have heard about the haunted nature of this place. I will discuss this aspect later on in the chapter. Suppressing my apprehension, I just ventured into the ruins to start my fieldwork. Soon enough my apprehension turned to excitement because I realised that I had the chance and liberty to explore an abandoned village, enter the houses and touch the few remaining objects, all of which witnessed a tragic episode of the Spanish Civil War. I spent a long time walking into the shelled houses (see figure 28 below) and the abandoned church. During this time, I also tried to put myself into the shoes of a visitor who knew nothing about the Battle of Belchite. Since there was absolutely no information available, what would they make of these ruins? It felt like Belchite was an extreme example of Writerly experience or visitor authorship of narratives to make sense of a place and its history.

Figure 28. View from inside a ruined housed in Old Belchite
(Source: Researchers own, 2012)

I must have been at the ruins for a couple of hours when a herd of sheep flocked through the main street to the other side of the village. They were followed by a shepherd who kindly waved his hand to me, perhaps in recognition of my surprise at his livestock wondering around the ruins. The next day during the guided tour with the official guide (29 September 2012), the guide explained that he wanted the municipality to put a fence around the ruins to prevent animals and "random people" wondering around the site because "Belchite is the site of a tragic event not a circus" (ibid). I was quite surprised by the word "circus". Yet, days later I could better understand why he used that exact word. As the former mayor of Belchite mentioned me during his tour (2 October 2012), the ruins had been rented in several occasions to filmmakers to shoot all sorts of movies, including in one occasion an adult movie. According to him, this was allowed because it was a good source of income for the village. According to the former mayor, some survivors and their relatives found it offensive that such activities were allowed at the ruins, others "thought that it was quite 'funny'[...] and some even went to see the film crew while they were on set" (Interview, 2 October 2012). To some stakeholders, this adult movie incidence was yet another sign of how unregulated Old Belchite was and how some people, including the mayor at the time did "not take the ruins and the events

that happened there seriously" (Email communication with the official guide of Belchite, 11 October 2012). There was therefore an "urgent need to have an organisation that would regulate all these different and sometimes offensive activities happening at the ruins", as the official guide later expressed (ibid)

The next day (29 September 2012) I met with Old Belchite's only official guide for a tour around the ruins. But before he arrived, and while I was waiting for him I saw a gentleman sticking some A4 pages that said, "Tour around the ruins with local guide Number xxxxxxx". I inquired about his status as 'guide' and he told me this was more of a hobby than a real job or and official title and that he enjoyed taking people around the ruins and explain to them its history mainly because he felt that "the municipality [had] 'washed their hands off' this place […] it is sad to see it this way and visitors coming and going being none the wiser about what happened here" (Informal discussion Belchite unofficial guide, 29 September 2012). When I asked him whether he was charging visitors for the tour he said he only got voluntary 'tips' from them but would never charge them a fee because, as he reiterated, "guiding is a hobby, not a job" (ibid). I told him that I had been in the ruins in previous days and did not see any of his 'adverts' around the site, outside or inside. He stopped for a moment and he told me that he knew they kept 'disappearing' after he hangs them up almost every day because there are people, mainly locals that do not want him to be guiding visitors and he argued that "some people are not happy with visitors coming here and if they are around they will remove my papers" (ibid). At this moment the person I was waiting for, the Official tour guide arrived. He greeted Santiago (unofficial guide) after which the unofficial guide left the site. As I later found out, Santiago was well known to the Official tour guide but the latter felt that the site should not have many different guides but only one 'official guide' to avoid having many different versions of what happened there, conveyed to visitors (Interview, 29 September 2012).

Moving on to the tour around the ruins with the Official guide, one of the first things he told me is that he was the official guide of Old Belchite after the municipality decided to grant him this title in 2008, perhaps to make sure that I knew he was not like the previously mentioned unofficial guide. This title was given to him was after he presented the municipality with a tourism plan for the ruins of Old Belchite. This plan was finally implemented in 2013 and more information about the

new tourism developments of Old Belchite is given in the following section. Despite his title of official tour guide, he did not get any money from the municipality and thus charged visitors six Euros for the "Basic Tour" –namely, brief tour around the ruins and narration of the Battle of Belchite - and sixty Euros for a comprehensive tour for historians, journalists and researchers, which includes printed material about the ruins (i.e., Belchite tourism development plan, pictures of the old Belchite, and maps) (Email communication with the official guide of Belchite, 12 September 2012). During my fieldwork I took only the comprehensive tour as after requesting to do both tours, the official guide decided that he could explain to me what he tells during the "Basic Tours" (ibid). The comprehensive tour (29 September 2012) lasted almost the whole day as we visited not only the ruins of Old Belchite but also the *Little Russia*, and a Seminary[25] that was destroyed during the Battle of Belchite. These sites were outside the village.

The official tour guide did not take me inside any of the houses or any of the places he considered dangerous. He argued that "going inside any of the houses is impossible as the walls might collapse at anytime… it is very very dangerous" (Interview, 29 September 2012). When I explained that I had gone into the houses on my own the previous day he said that I was not the only person to do so and that generally visitors go in and out with complete disregard to their safety. For me, it was precisely going into the houses that made the visit so interesting and I was surprised to find that the official guide would only take me through certain "clean paths" (ibid). However, days later I visited the ruins again with the former mayor of Belchite (2nd of October 2012), and we visited all those places the official guide had considered too dangerous to go into, including some of the houses. While the former mayor took me around the ruins, I discovered some places I had not seen before on my own or with the official guide. He explained that the official guide was probably being too careful, and that the former mayor himself knew the village well and there was no danger in entering the houses (ibid).

Despite the differences in the perceptions about safety and thus the paths taken, the stories told during both tours were very similar in terms of their historical facts. However, the tone of voice used was very different. The official guide of Belchite, leaving aside the limited occasions when he told a joke, used mainly a

[25] Seminary is a "training college for priests or rabbis" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2013)

serious and rather sombre tone of voice (29 September 2012). The former mayor on the other hand used a more upbeat and positive tone. The significance of this is that as a visitor you could leave the same site with more or less similar knowledge and but different emotions, depending on who tells the story and how.

Having the opportunity to do a tour of the site with two different individuals as well as on my own brought different emotions altogether. While on my own I had the opportunity to imagine the events that happened there, how the lives of the people were, what they were doing when the conflict started and so on. I did this, as previously mentioned, with a view to understanding how visitors that came there on their own would experience the site as opposed to when you do it with a guide. Although pleasurable, I did enjoy much more those tours I did with the official guide and the former mayor of Belchite as I was able to get a much better picture of what life was like in the Old Belchite and learn from the personal stories about some of the people who died during or after the conflict. In the case of the former mayor of Belchite, he explained that his immediate family survived and did not suffer as much as others during the conflict but they knew neighbours that were not so lucky as them. The official guide did lose his great grandfather during the conflict. In sum, adding some personal touches and stories to the ruins as well as practical information about how life was in Old Belchite made it a much more enjoyable experience in which I managed to experience a range of emotions including fun, awe, sadness, and surprise about the events that happened there. Today, the ruins have to be visited with a tour guide (BelchiteTurismo, 2014) and there is no option of doing it on your own as I did back in 2012. In essence, and despite the newly imposed guided tours, Old Belchite remains Writerly as visitors are "given all the information for them to be able to create their own meanings and views regarding the site and their experiences" (Email communication Official guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014)

An equally significant aspect of the ruins of Old Belchite was the already mentioned differences of opinion regarding their development as a tourist destination or their destruction. This seemed to be a particular contentious issue among my interviewees and local community as per observations. Both the former mayor and the official guide agreed that the ruins should be touristically organised to avoid "Belchite being wiped out of the map due to neglect" (Interview, former mayor of Belchite, 2 October 2012). During the tour around the ruins of Old Belchite with the

former mayor, he explained how "most people from Belchite do not want to see the old village…. they have turned their backs on it…as a black page of our history that people want to forget" (ibid). This desire to forget was confirmed when I asked some of the village elders- namely, the Old Man of Belchite and his wife, as well as the Old Woman of Belchite (Informal discussions, 30 September 2012) what they thought about the state of the ruins: "[Old Belchite] is nothing more than a pile of rubble for some… but for us it is a deep wound and a painful memory…. that deserves no commemoration or remembrance" (Interview, Old Man of Belchite, 30 September 2012); the only way for the wounds to heal would be the "destruction of the ruins… they should be wiped out" (Informal discussion with Old Woman of Belchite, 30 September 2012).

I was interested in knowing whether these voices that ask for the destruction of the ruins have considered that this might also mean that their stories would be lost. They replied that they would be happy to tell their story to anyone but the village should be destroyed and forgotten. It is worthy of note that among younger residents of Belchite, there are differing opinions about what to do with the ruins. Some argue that Old Belchite should be destroyed (e.g., Old Man of Belchite's son during the interview with his father, 30 September 2012) while others believe it should be turned into a museum or some sort of tourist attraction (e.g., Old Man of Belchite's niece during the interview with his uncle, 30 September 2012).

Sour memories

As mentioned before, during my fieldwork in Belchite, I also went to the new village and visited there some war survivors who were children in Old Belchite during the war. It was particularly painful to hear personal accounts and testimonies of those involved with the conflict and their relatives. These stories are after all what make any conflict or tragedy more 'human'. They are thus necessary to pass that knowledge from generation to generation. In the case of Old Belchite, and the Spanish Civil War in general, it seems that not only the stories but also the trauma of the conflict have been left as a legacy. During my interviews, the sons and daughters of the interviewees were in the room and they would frequently intervene and passionately explain events in exquisite detail. Perhaps, they did not suffer from the burden of silence that their relatives had to bear for many decades. Additionally, when it comes to the possibility of using Old Belchite as reconciliation symbol like

The Valley of the Fallen, the survivors I interviewed (Old Man of Belchite; Old Woman of Belchite, 30 September 2012) seemed to agree that people still have sour memories of "who killed whom" and that it is impossible to forgive or forget.

It is perhaps these sour memories and different accounts about what happened in Old Belchite within a small community of survivors and/or their relatives that have prevented the municipality to provide any information to visitors within the ruins, until recently. During my time in Old Belchite in September and October 2012, I observed that the lack of information and signage was frustrating for some tourists, not to mention Santiago's constantly disappearing advertisements for guided tours! I think this lack of information and stories would have also been frustrating for me if it had not been for the guided tours. While inside the main church, I overhead a small group of people complaining that there was nothing to tell them the story of the place like where fighters were cornered or what places they could visit within the ruins. Visitors like these would leave with some pictures of the ruins but probably without a realisation of the full scale and tragedy of this episode of the Spanish Civil War.

According to the official guide of Belchite, the lack of official information *in situ* and online encourages many visitors turn to the Internet to find more about the site. This he believes is something that has helped reinforce the popularity of ghost and otherwise stories about Belchite circulating online (Interview, 29 September 2012). I was in fact exposed to such stories, which partly underpinned my aforementioned apprehensiveness on my first day of fieldwork. The official guide of Belchite also explained that the Internet provides a lot of information but in the case of Belchite "it has done more harm than all the years of dictatorship…because many visitors come here on their own at night looking for ghosts and it is dangerous…but more importantly they do not care to learn anything about the history of the place" (ibid). Also, some online web sites "provide crazy erroneous historical facts that are so far away from the truth they are embarrassing to look at… I even read once that 20,000 people died in Belchite! And the worst part is that some people believe these online claims" (Interview official guide of Belchite, 29 September 2012). What is more, in order to prove his point that online rumours are very easy to fabricate he explained that some years ago he posted on an online forum that in Belchite "at night voices of children are heard inside the main church". Days later the municipality and

he himself received phone calls from different radio and TV programmes requesting interviews; and from individuals "wanting to come to Belchite to investigate the voices" (ibid).

The long running local 'silence' about what happened in Belchite had not been just down to a municipal preference to leave the ruins in oblivion. As discussed in the excerpt from my personal diary, many residents of new Belchite, including Battle survivors and their relatives seemed very reticent to speak to me. This reticence, which caused a great deal of upset to me on that particular day (Personal diary, 30 September 2012) was understandable in hindsight. As I have learned it by experience as a Spaniard and a researcher myself, when it comes to the Spanish Civil War, many Spaniards in different parts of the country avoid discussing their experiences or those of their relatives about the Civil War and its aftermath.

Despite this default reticence, my interview experience with the Old Man of Belchite in his home was also quite revealing. Once they accepted me to their home thanks to my guide, the Old Man and his family seemed to be at ease to talk to me. In fact, they even told me that talking to someone not related to the conflict was some sort of relief. Sometime mid-interview, the Old Man of Belchite told me that I should understand their initial doubts about talking to me despite me coming with someone they knew: "As war and politics is something you discuss at home not outside or with strangers (Interview, 30 September 2012). I guess my presence there as a researcher who listened his stories carefully and without any judgement made him feel comfortable enough to insist that I talk on the phone to his cousin in France. His cousin was also a survivor of the Battle of Belchite. Two things were quite remarkable in the accounts of these survivors. Firstly, both men used very similar words to describe how the ruins should be demolished as "there are lots of memories and lots of emotions that are evoked from those stones and rubble" (Telephone interview Old Man of Belchite [France], 30 September 2012). Secondly, they both argued that any touristic visitation to the site was not appropriate. They were also of the view that tour guides "are probably just making things up, they won't tell the truth they will only tell what they want to tell" (Telephone interview Old Man of Belchite [France]; Interview Old Man of Belchite, 30 September 2012). Last but not least, both men got emotional while recounting their stories and one of them concluded that this is because "the telling of the stories over and over again just

opens old wounds…the conflict is still very recent and the wounds have not had time to heal" (Old Man of Belchite, 30 September 2012).

A new organisation: Belchite Tourism

After many years of localised arguments for and against, the ruins of Belchite was eventually turned into an officially managed site in 2013, a few months after I completed my fieldwork there. Despite the ruins' historical importance and the estimation that more than 12,000 visitors walked through the village every year (Malvar, 2005), it remained touristically underdeveloped until March 2013, when it was finally enclosed and an entrance fee for visitors was introduced (Email communication Official guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014). As discussed above, the visitation experience during the time of my fieldwork in Belchite was mainly an experience of imagination that was based on one's previous (lack of) knowledge about the site. Owing to a lack of stories and overall narrative presentable by an organisation in charge of the site, the history of Belchite and many individual stories that constituted it were rather "incomprehensible to those who do not have [access to] 'expert' or 'local' knowledge" (Basu, 1997). Consequently, imaginations about and tourist and otherwise activities in Belchite had been very diverse and many times controversial.

Visiting the ruins, according to my own experience with two different long tours, can be a great educational experience, albeit with different emotional experiences. As experienced during the tour with the official guide, the main goal and outcome of these guided tours is to learn about history in the same site where events happened, as "it is not the same reading history in a book than living it *in situ* through the eyes of those who suffered by the means of storytelling" (Interview Official guide of Belchite, 29 September 2012). The testimonies and stories collected from survivors and their relatives are told throughout the tour, which helps visitor empathize with individual experiences of the conflict: "it was not only a gruesome conflict but a conflict in which many people with names and surnames suffered" (ibid). For a great number of visitors, however, any chance of such a meaningful and perhaps appropriate educational and emotional experience, given the tragic history of the site, was hard to get because of 'unorganised tourism' and the lack of signage around the ruins. Belchite's former mayor, who was the other tour guide acknowledged this issue during our interview (2 October 2012): "Despite the large

number of visitors to the ruins on a daily basis; the lack of a tourism organisation, and the state of disrepair of the site [meant] that a didactic lesson [was] being missed".

Belchite is the site of one of the most gruesome episodes of the Spanish Civil War. Despite its historical legacy and current 'unorganised' state as well as the disagreements over its future, Belchite did not seem to have got the same attention from the general public, as did The Valley of the Fallen during my research. As discussed before, there are people who believe that Belchite should be left in ruins or even demolished (Interview Old Man Belchite, 30 September 2012; Old Man Belchite [France], 30 September 2012); Old Woman of Belchite, 30 September 2012). On the other hand, there are also those who believe that the ruins of Belchite should be preserved and stand as a physical representation of the events that took place in 1937 (Interview official tour guide, 29 September 2012). All these different but local opinions as well as the lack of national level interest in Belchite bring a question to mind: Should some episodes of the Spanish Civil War and their aftermath be forgotten with all the pain and controversy they have been causing for many decades?

The official guide of Belchite (Interview, 29 September 2012) told me that he had worked on a tourism development plan for the ruins of Belchite for several years. In a later correspondence, he explained me his and the municipality's motivation: "Rather than being remembered for a horrible event of war, Belchite wants to become 'a message of peace and reconciliation'" (Email communication official guide of Belchite, 11 October 2012). During the fieldwork, this plan was being considered by the municipality for approval. His tourism plan was finally accepted at the end of 2012 and the official guide has become the head of an organisation named Belchite Tourism. In the first half of 2013, the touristic development of the ruins of Belchite started (Email communication Official tour guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014). One of the main aims of the tourism plan and therefore Belchite Tourism was to clean the streets in old Belchite from rubble and make the enclosed ruins safe for visitation. The enclosed ruins are now only accessible with an official guide in return for a fee of six Euros per visitor. The ruins still have no information displays or artefacts. Instead, Belchite Tourism rely on official guided tours, similar to the one I took with the official guide of Belchite,

which give visitors a lot of information and stories about the ruins of Belchite to compensate for the fact that many spaces in the ruins are inaccessible based on the aforementioned safety concerns (Email communication with the official tour guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014). In the first three months, Belcihete Tourims raised more than 16,000 Euros for the conservation and touristic development of the ruins (Heraldo, 2013). All the profits from visitor fees are used solely for these purposes of conservation and touristic development (Email communication Official tour guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014).

Despite the municipality providing some initial financial support for the restoration work, mainly that of the main arch from where visitors enter the ruins, the touristic development of the site and Belchite Tourism are self-funded. Moreover, Belchite Tourism and the site's ongoing touristic development have come with their own controversy as some thought that part of the appeal of the ruins was the possibility to explore it alone (with no official guide) and at any time of the day (Heraldo, 2013). Additionally, the official guide of Belchite states that the enclosure of the ruins has been mainly criticised by "those people who were coming here at night with their recorders trying to find a ghost with complete disregard to their safety or the conservation of the ruins" (Email communication Official guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014). Even though this 'ghost tourism' is something the official guide seemed to dislike, it turned out to be something Belchite Tourism " aim to make … in a much more organised way" (Email communication Official guide of Belchite, 11 October 2012). In fact, Belchite Tourism now offers two types of tours-namely, morning tours (with a historical approach and without macabre embellishments and ghosts!) and night tours (with more macabre details of the conflict and dark myths surrounding the ruins) (Email communication Official tour guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014). But above all, the main reason why Belchite had to be touristically developed was because the municipality as well as the new organisation Belchite Tourism (i.e., the official guide of Belchite) wanted Belchite to become a symbol of the value of peace through the dramatic consequences of war. For such a symbol to exist, the "story of Belchite has to be told" (Email communication Official Guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014).

Old Man and his wife and Belchite as peace space

Out of the time I spent in Belchite and the things I experienced there, I found

the following experience very telling. The Old Man of Belchite's wife and her family (Interview, 30 September 2012), who were from a nearby village also suffered from the Battle of Belchite at the hands of the Republicans, the very group her husband's family had supported before fleeing Spain. The couple consequently remembered the destruction of Belchite under different lights: the Old Man blamed the Nationals but the wife blamed the Republicans. She claimed that almost all the Belchite residents could escape or survive. The Old Man claimed only 70 families managed to escape. Despite these disagreements about the details of the battle, the couple were in agreement that the Spanish Civil War was a war with no winners and that the ruins of Belchite only represent all that suffering and horror, and should therefore be destroyed as to never re-live those memories. Despite their strong desire to see the demolition of the ruins, which I as a student of organising and storytelling in dark tourism would be sad to see, I as a Spaniard found this couple and their long marriage as a small but heart warming example of the possibility of reconciliation between the 'Two Spains'.

All in all, from what I observed during my fieldwork and gathered from the interviews and the different informal discussions I had with people from Belchite, it seems that the topic of what to do with the ruins is still very much alive. While some agreed with the idea of Belchite being a tourist destination, others think that Old Belchite is a place "full of sadness and pain for many people […] and [the ruins] are just a reminder of that pain" (Interview Old Man of Belchite, 30 September 2012). Despite the reticence of some survivors and their relatives, the municipality founded Belchite Tourism and went ahead with the touristic development of the site in 2013. Since then, old Belchite has become a very important tourist destination in the area (Belchite Tourism, 2014) What the organisation aims with this new development is to "tell [Belchite's story] through a peace space" (Email communication Official guide from Belchite, 4 September 2012). This means that with the tragic and epic stories told and the overall narrative experience offered via guided tours especially during the day, the ruins take on a semiotic identity of "the horrible effects of war and the need for peace to avoid such atrocities from happening again" (Interview Former mayor of Belchite, 2 October 2012). In sum, with this new approach to managing the ruins Belchite Tourism aims to "rectify" the site as per Foote (1997) and what Franco's rule attempted to attach to it. It does so through "putting right" the

tragedy by exonerating the ruins and all parties involved from any blame (ibid, p23). A conflict explained from a space of peace and reconciliation "without any heroes or villains, just victims of a senseless war" (Former Mayor of Belchite, interview 2nd of October 2012).

Guernica Peace Museum[26]

" A museum for remembrance. A museum for the future" (Museodelapaz, 2012)

The Guernica-Lumo municipality founded the Guernica Peace Museum in 1998, initially as a small exhibition about the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica 1937. Before this exhibition was opened, many tourists would visit the city and would find no information about the bombing whatsoever and probably left without getting to know what really happened in this town during the Spanish Civil War and in its aftermath. It was for this reason the municipality decided to open a small exhibition about the bombing and also appoint a researcher who would find all existing documents about the bombing of Guernica in both Spain and the rest of world. Both tasks were given to who is today the chief curator and director of the Guernica Peace Museum. The initial exhibition, despite small, proved extremely popular with tourists (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). However, by 2001 the resources of the exhibition became very limited. For this reason, the municipality of Guernica-Lumo asked help from the regional government to fund a new museum. Two years later, in 2003 the Peace Museum was opened to the public. To this day, this peace museum is the only one of its kind in the country. The new museum was different from the previous exhibition in that it "goes beyond the mere explanation of the tragic events by describing the consequences of a war, but also by providing a message of peace, positivity and more importantly hope" (Interview Head of Education Department, 20 December 2012). Also, the Peace Museum explores other topics such conflicts, universal human rights and their violations, and different aspects of peace.

The Peace Museum is also part of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC). These sites are "sites, individuals, and initiatives activating the power of places of memory to engage the public in connecting past and present in order to envision and shape a more just and humane future" (ICSC, 2014). This is done by transforming places that deal with the past into places that promote civic action on different issues such as human rights and injustices (ibid). With this in mind, the Guernica Peace Museum wants to be "a place where visitors may feel and live out a scenario in which history is experienced by emotions and empathy to clear

[26] Spelled Gernika in Basque

the path towards reconciliation, a place where we may think that we can all work together to shape our own peace" (Museodelapaz, 2012).

The destruction of Guernica

On the 26th of April 1937, what started as a normal market day at the town of Guernica would end in tragedy and destruction after the town was bombed incessantly for two to three hours by the German Condor Legion and the Italian Air Force with the encouragement of the Nationalist forces headed by Franco (Aguilar, 2008). The main aim of the bombing was to destroy the central bridge over the river Oka, since this would stop the Republicans from advancing to the northern parts of Guernica. However, it soon became clear that the target was not this bridge, which was not hit during the air attack, but "rather [the] civilian morale [as the bombing] was intended to kill the Basque appetite for resistance" (Graham, 2005, p71). Three days after the bombing and with no resistance, the National forces took over the town and some sources argue that this was in fact the reason why the Nationals were later able to take control of the whole country before the Spanish Civil War ended in 1939 (Torres, 2005).

That April's day, the history of this town and its people would change forever after "hell fell from the skies" (Aznar, 2004, p25). The aerial bombardment destroyed the city almost entirely, and killed around 1,600 to 2,300 people according to the regional government at the time (as cited in Museodelapaz, 2012). However, the total number of victims has been contested, even some sources raise the number to almost 4,000 (e.g., Aguilar, 2008; Contreras, 2000). The town of Guernica was used as a laboratory "for the testing of both explosive and incendiary bombing methods" (Jackson, 1974, p124) that would be later used again by the German Luftwaffe in other European cities such as Rotterdam and Coventry (Aznar, 2004, p26). Spain became the first "European country to suffer [the] acme of modern warfare" (Graham, 200,p71). More than 45.000 kilograms of bombs were dropped on the town on that day (Torres, 2005)

Moreover, the gruesome images of the aftermath (see figure 29) and the personal accounts of the survivors (see figure 30) were, and probably still are engraved in the minds of many Spaniards as well as people all over the world. This is because the bombing of the city of Guernica is today still "one of the modern history's great atrocity stories" (Trembath, 2007, p2). The news of the tragic events

spread around the world, and made this the most widely covered episodes of the Spanish Civil War nationally and internationally. The French newspaper L'Humanité (Leal, n.d) published news of Guernica the very next day. It would be in France, particularly in Paris where Pablo Picasso would find out about what had happened in Guernica, which would give him the inspiration to paint one of his most celebrated paintings, *Guernica*.

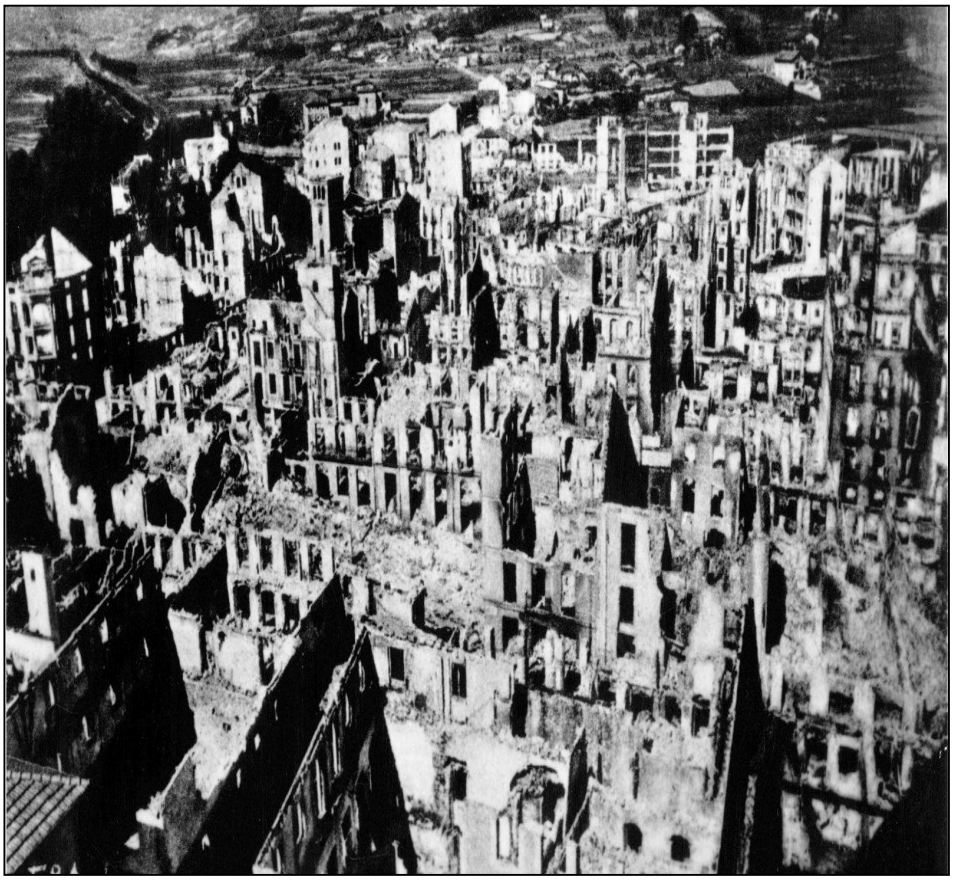


Figure 29. The devastation of Guernica
(Source: ABC, 2012)

They launched a rain of fire, shrapnel and death. And destroyed our town. And that night we could not go back to our house for dinner, or sleep in our bed. We had no home, we had no house. But this incomprehensible act for us did not leave us with a feeling of hate or revenge, but rather a huge, immense desire for peace. The desire that this must never happen again. And from the ruins of what was once our town a flag of peace must rise, for all peoples.

[Declaration of surviving witnesses after reading a letter from the President of the Federal Republic of Germany accepting and apologising for Germany's involvement in the bombing of Guernica – May 12th 1999]

Figure 30. Declaration of Guernica's survivors
(Source: Display panel at Guernica Peace Museum, 2012)

Pablo Picasso's Guernica

"If a piece of art can not always live in the present, then it should not be taken into account at all" (Pablo Picasso, quoted in Aznar, 2004. n.p)

In 1937 while the Civil War was raging in Spain, the Republican government commissioned a mural to the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso. This mural would be presented in the Spanish pavilion at the International Exposition in Paris in 1937. The Republican government was starting to collapse in Spain due to the advances of the Nationalist forces led by Franco. The government saw the International Exposition and the works of art to be presented in its pavilion as an international propaganda opportunity that would allow them to not only give an impression of normality but also warn the world about what would happen if Fascism was to win the war in Spain (Aznar, 2004). By 1937, Picasso had been living in Paris for several years and had already become a very well known artist. If the Spanish pavilion was to get as much attention as possible, it needed to exhibit something from its most famous painter at the time (Ibid).

When the town of Guernica was bombed, Picasso had already been working on some sketches for a painting named *Dreams and Franco's lie* for the Exposition. The painter read the news about the events in the press and decided to discard his first sketches to create a new painting that he would name *Guernica*. In spite of this, the final painting (see figure 31) did not allude directly to the bombing but became "instead a generic plea against the barbarity and terror of war" (Leal, nd, para 2). Despite this, Pablo Picasso named his painting *Guernica* and explained that in this painting he "clearly expressed [his] abhorrence of the military caste which [had] sunk Spain in an ocean of pain and death" (Picasso, 1973). However, Picasso never explained the different figures and symbols used in the painting but preferred to leave the final interpretation to the public. Picasso argued, "the public, the spectators,

have to see in the horse, in the bull, symbols to be interpreted as they want" (Picasso as quoted in Aznar, 2004, p9).

Figure 31. Pablo Picasso's Guernica painting
(Source: Museo Reina Sofia, n.d)

The painting of *Guernica* quickly became an icon of not only the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica but all "the horrors of war" for generations to come (Trembath, 2007. p12). It has been used in innumerable international pro-human rights or anti-war campaigns, amongst others. This poster like painting in black and white "would become the [worldwide] emblem for all the devastating tragedies of modern society" (Leal, n d, para1). Also, it has become "perhaps the world's most famous modern painting" (Corbin, 1999, p1), and consequently made Guernica and the bombing internationally known. Picasso was able to "capture the essence of war and convey emotions […] that words or sentences cannot fully explain" (Kelly, 2007, p1). Furthermore, it was transformed into a symbol of all war victims, not only of Guernica but any conflict. It was "conceived as a testimony to the horror that the Spanish Civil War was causing and a forewarning of what was to come in the Second World War" (Leal, n d, para1).

Moreover, the painting symbolised the acceptance or recognition that the bombardment had really taken place, as opposed to what the Nationalists claimed by then as the official story: 'The town was burned by retreating Communists/Republicans in order to blame the Nationalists for its destruction'

(Aguilar, 2008). The director of the Peace Museum explained that many victims were told by the Nationalist authorities to remain silent about what they had seen/lived on that day and conform to the official version of events, which made their pain and suffering even worse (Interview, 20 December 2012). In fact, for more than thirty years after the events it "remained a crime in Spain to say that Guernica had been bombed" (Jackson, 1974, p125). To this day, there are still people that refer to the bombing as "the myth of Guernica" (Contreras, 2000, p74). Despite the fact that the painting did not come to Spain until many years later, it was shown in many exhibitions all over the world, which made both the painting and the events that inspired it notorious in Spain and beyond. Also, thanks to this painting "the entire town became a war memorial" (Raento and Watson, 2000, p717) and symbol for not only the victims of the aerial attack, but also all war sufferers around the world. What is more, to this day the painting in its entirety and the characters in it individually are still used to denounce more recent conflicts (see figure 32 for an example) as "the painting that [Picasso] produced is so haunting that it has the power to put even latter-day tyrants to shame" (Draper, 2011).

Figure 32. Gaza - Guernica

(Source: Draper, 2011)

Bearing in mind the international fame of the painting, it is safe to say that the Guernica Peace Museum and the town acquired worldwide audience thanks to the popularity of Picasso's painting and that many visitors travel to the small town because of this, even though the real painting is in Madrid, not in Guernica. The Peace Museum director confirmed that the painting had been crucial for "putting the town on the map on a national and international scale" but they did not want to make this the central aspect of the exhibition and the painting overshadow their main message of peace. Instead, they preferred to let the tragic events speak for themselves throughout the exhibition (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). For this reason, the room that holds a replica of *Guernica* does not explain the painting per se, but rather uses it as a "platform to explore human rights" (ibid). This room is described later in the chapter.

The location of the original painting was the Museum of Modern Art in New York until 1981 when it was finally returned to Spain. This was because Picasso did not want the painting to return to the country until Franco was dead and democracy established. However, it took years of negotiations between the two countries to finally get the painting back to Spain. In 1977, several years after Franco's death, the Spanish authorities started the process to get the painting back because of what "it signifies and symbolises, [and] to warn [all Spaniards] that small disagreements can have big consequences" (Joaquin de Azcarate, Head of the Basque Parliamentary Group Agrupacion Independiente, quoted in Aguilar, 2008, p308). Once the painting was back in Spain in 1981, a political debate started as to where this powerful international symbol of war victims should be placed. The regional Basque government wanted the painting to be placed in a museum in Guernica. However, the transitional national government at the time decided that the Reina Sofia Museum in Madrid was to be its home. The painting has been there ever since except when on loan for international exhibitions. The reason for not returning the painting to Guernica was that the government of the time, which was managing a period of transition to democracy, thought that it was not a good idea for the Basque people to have the sole 'control' of such a powerful symbol of the victims of the war. For the government, *Guernica* in the Basque Country could be detrimental for the reconciliatory atmosphere Spain needed to move forward, should the Basque people

decided to use the painting as a symbol of only their suffering during the Spanish Civil War (Aguilar, 2008).

Peace and Tragedy: A combination that works

The Guernica Peace Museum has been designed as a journey in which visitors follow a path that would give them the answers to three main questions: 1. What is peace? 2. What happened in Guernica when there was no peace? 3. What is happening in the Basque Country and the world regarding peace and future views for world peace? Bearing these questions in mind, the whole exhibition was developed in a way in which visitors had to go through every room in order to understand the whole meaning of the exhibition and their ultimate goal, which is to change visitors' perceptions of peace and conflict, and help them act upon their newly acquired knowledge once they leave the museum (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). In order to do this, the organisation created a site where visitors "walk through spaces that have been carefully designed in which the floor, the ceiling and the walls are at the service of the museum's communication aims" (Muñoz, 2003, n.p).

One of the most important aims of the organisation is to make the topics as close, comprehensible and didactic for visitors as possible (Interview Head of Education Department, 20 December 2012). However, despite the museum's best efforts to promote their peace exhibition as the main attraction, they are aware that "the theme of peace does not sell, it is not a sexy topic and, therefore, it is fair to say that we sell more war than peace" (Peace Museum Director, quoted in Euskalkultura, 2004). During my interview with the Museum's Director she stated that she still thinks the same way today as she did when they first opened the museum, that peace is not a topic that sells as much as war "because it does not allure to that morbid attraction with death, tragedy and war that seems to interest much more" (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). Nevertheless, the museum wants to draw more attention to their values of peace and reconciliation by explaining to visitors what they can expect from their visits before they start also. They aims to do so by taking visitors on a 'journey' planned to combine both peace and war throughout. In the following paragraphs I explain in more detail how the museum is organised in accordance with my field observations.

Throughout the exhibition, although visitors can find some written information, this is not abundant. This lack of abundant information has been planned by the organisation deliberately since "stories are told through the use of lighting, images, small captions and so on in order to provoke certain emotions in visitors and also give them the freedom to make their own interpretation rather than trying to impose an absolute truth" (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). The Head of Education Department added that the museum aimed to not only "educate [visitors] but also entertain them and make them enjoy their visit" (Interview, 20 December 2012). In order to understand what the organisation expects visitors to encounter during their time in the museum, it is important to be aware of how the exhibition is laid out over several floors.

The first thing that visitors see when they enter the exhibition is the so-called white corridor, in which they can see huge images that represent peace in different forms: Inner peace, agreed peace, planet peace (with nature) and day-to-day peace. It is called the white corridor because of the white lighting and the association of peace with this colour. With the use of certain pictures and some well-thought captions (Fieldwork diary, 19 December 2012), the museum seems to aim for a relaxing visitor experience. Once visitors get to the end of the corridor, "they hopefully have a good understanding of what is peace and have a feeling of hope" (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). This feeling is changed dramatically once visitors enter the next room-namely, Begoña's house. Similar to other dark tourism places such as the Holocaust Exhibition at IWLM, lighting and visuals are used to change the mood of the visitor as they go along the exhibition. In the following paragraphs I explain in detail this part of the exhibition that seems, according to my interviewees, the thing visitors find most memorable.

Begoña's house (see figures 33 and 34) is a very unique experiential room in which visitors can experience the bombing thanks to sounds, lighting, objects and an audible narrated personal story. Begoña's house was devised by the museum' curators and two filmmakers after compiling many testimonies and visiting many survivors. "Begoña is not a real person, it is in fact a compilation of all the people we talked to and their stories" (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). According to the Head of Education Department, this room is crucial to fulfil one of the main objectives of the museum-namely, to make visitors "empathise and put

themselves in some else's skin regardless of whether they have lived through a war or not" (Interview Head of Documentation Centre, 20 December 2012)

Figure 33. Entrance to Begoña's house
(Source: Researchers own, 2012)

Figure 34. Inside Begoña's house
(Source: MuseodelaPaz, 2012)

Once visitors are inside 'the house', the automatic door is closed behind them, giving a feeling of being 'trapped'. Certainly, visitors are not allowed to leave the room until the audiovisuals have finished and another exit door is opened. There is

however a panic button which, visitors can press should they start feeling claustrophobic or ill. By pressing the button, the audiovisuals would stop immediately and doors would open automatically. Until today, according to the Museum's Director, this button has only been used two or three times (Interview, 20 December 2012). There are also monitored CCTV cameras inside the room for two purposes. The first is to check that visitors are okay and there are no problems inside. The second is to recognise in which language (Basque, Spanish, French, English) the audiovisuals should be played. The person monitoring the CCTV cameras is able to do this thanks to a colour badge visitors are given at the entrance of the museum. If there are people in the room with different colour badges, the audiovisuals are played in the language of the majority.

Inside this fabricated house, there is a small bench where people can sit, should they wish to do so, and wait until 'Begoña' starts narrating her story. It is important to note that visitors are allowed to walk around the room during the experience (Interview Head of Documentation Centre, 20 December 2012). Suddenly, all the lights go off and a dim light is pointed towards a table, with dishes and a clock that is loudly ticking on the wall. 'Begoña' tells visitors how that horrible day started, what she was doing and what she was planning to do that evening. Some moments later the deafening noise of sirens and planes is heard and the lights start flicking constantly. This is when the room starts to shake with the noise of the bombs falling for what feels to be a long time while the ticking of the clock gets louder and louder. Then abruptly, all lights go off accompanied by a complete silence. Behind what initially seemed like a mirror, a faint light and an image of a rubble house start to emerge. Those plates that were on the table before are now seen shattered over the rubble while a sad children's song (sang in Basque language) is played in the background. The last thing visitors see is a light pointing at a partly destroyed wall calendar that shows the date of the tragedy - 26th of April 1937.

After being allowed to sit there for a few seconds and stare at the aftermath, the door leading to the next room opens and visitors are allowed to leave. This next room explores in more detail the aftermath of the bombardment via several panels. However, for me the most striking aspect of this room was the glass see-through floor under which lay a lot of fabricated rubble and personal belongings of those living in the bombed houses such as books, cooking utensils and clothing. These

fabricated artefacts make visitors "feel as if they are just walking through the rubble of Guernica after the bombing" (Interview Head of Education Department, 20 December 2012).

The hard to forget experiences in both rooms make the visitor see and feel how real people suffered in the conflict; they were in their houses without a clue as to what was to happen. The Head of the Education Department explained that they "really wanted people to go in and come out completely changed and with a deep understanding of the bombing and also general human suffering in the absence of peace" (Interview, 20 December 2012). Though, not everyone takes it as seriously as the museum desires. "Some school children ask museum attendees if they can 'do it again' as if it was some sort of ride in an attraction park or something that is supposed to be funny" (ibid).

In fact, Begoña's house is the only part of the museum where visitors are not allowed to take video or photographs "not only for any possible copyright infringement, but also we want them to pay their full attention to the story and to their own feelings while they are there" (Interview Head of Education Department, 20 December 2012). The whole visitor experience inside Begoña's house, as I could observe in my two visits to the site (19 and 20 December 2012) has been planned with meticulous consideration to detail and every object and every word tells not only what happened but also a story of its own. For example, the museum director stated that that the wall calendar visitors see before moving on to the next room is like a metaphor of how time stopped in Guernica on that 26th of April and how the lives of its residents were changed forever. In the same way, the ticking of the clock stops and everything is brought to a sudden silence, which represents perhaps death but surely destruction.

Human Rights– deconstructing *Guernica*

Since the original *Guernica* painting is in Madrid, the Peace Museum holds a smaller replica and has dedicated a whole room to it. This room (see figure 35) is designed in a way that visitors have to go through each layer of the painting before getting to see the full picture at the end of the room. The painting is deconstructed and is not explained in terms of its artistic value but used as a "lens to explain and reflect upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as a reminder that every day there is war, hunger, misery and so on and all these human rights are thus

violated" (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012). There are three main panels (transparent) that lead to the last panel where the full picture of *Guernica* can be found. The first panel is named "The look at life", followed by "The look at freedom" and finally by the "The look at equality"; all leading to the painting panel named "A seed for peace". Each panel comes with a brief explanation about the relevant articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights such as: Article 1 which states that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" (UN General Assembly, 1948).

Figure 35. Human rights room - deconstructing Guernica
(Source: Researchers own, 2012)

Merging art with promoting a message of peace is something the museum permanently does in the Human Rights room. Moreover, they also arrange temporary exhibitions once or twice a year with this theme of art and peace. In 2012, the museum, in collaboration with other organisations, arranged a special exhibition named "Other views of Guernica" in which artists could submit their works of art including paintings, audios, dance routines, poems and even street art, among others. Artists were asked to represent war and peace by taking Picasso's *Guernica* as

inspiration. With this type of temporary exhibitions the Peace Museum and its collaborators aimed to show art in its "more humanistic way [by] using art as an answer to the nonsense of war and violence […] and contribute not only to culture but also to spread a peace message around the world […] to avoid anything like [the bombing] happening again" (Gernika-Lumo, 2012).

Brief overview of the Basque conflict

Since the last room of the museum deals with this conflict, I here present a brief overview of its origin and its present situation in Spain. The Basque conflict is, like the Spanish Civil War, a matter that has divided the Spanish society and even more the Basque Country for decades. This conflict has emerged from the will of certain parties and sectors of the Basque society to become independent from Spain and the Spanish state (Aparicio, 2009). Nevertheless, it would be during the years of Franco's dictatorship that this conflict reached its peak as "Franco's highly centralistic and authoritarian state fully suppressed Basque systems of self-governance and any visible elements of the […] Basque culture" (Idoiaga, 2006, p3)

In 1959 a group of students founded Euskadi Ta Askastasuna (ETA), which means Freedom for the Basque country, as a reaction to what they felt was repression by Franco's rule (Aparicio, 2009). What started as a 'harmless' group would become a militant group ever since 1962 when they declared that they were to start an armed conflict in order to obtain the independence of 'Basque territories' from Spain and France (ibid). ETA has killed more than 800 people over the years (through a series of bomb attacks, shootings, and kidnappings (Woodworth, 2001). The victims included politicians, policemen, and journalists, amongst others, but the majority were ordinary civilians. During all these years and until the permanent cease-fire announcement in 2011, "individuals who openly [criticised] ETA, or [transgressed] against the group's principles [were threatened] and [paid] for their temerity with their lives" (Woolworth, 2001, p1). Consequently, Spain, the EU, the USA and many other countries have declared ETA a terrorist group.[27] The matter that has created a strong malaise amongst the Spanish population over the years is the perceived widespread support to ETA in the Basque county.

[27] See for instance the USA government's list of terrorist organisations available from http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm [Last accessed September 2014]

The Forest Room

At the last room of the exhibition, named the Forest, visitors can find different panels with information about the ongoing conflict in the Basque Country, the separatist group ETA, the visible and invisible effects of violence. Last but not least of the messages is how all human beings should attempt to leave in peace the same way the Basques are doing. As the name indicates, a forest is reflected on the panels, each representing different parts of the forest (see figure 36). This is a metaphor of the Basque society as "in the Basque Country [people] should learn to live in peace and harmony…just like animals, plants and trees do in a forest, in nature" (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012)

Figure 36. The Forest Room at Guernica Peace Museum
(Source: Emblemma, 2012)

Despite this positive message for peace, this room has been quite controversial owing to the dissonant and subaltern theme and storytelling tone it adopted regarding the separatist group ETA. More specifically, one of these panels explores the penitentiary law in Spain and the conditions of ETA prisoners in different jails around the country while another panel deals with the victims of ETA's acts since the Basque conflict started. According to the Museum's Director, these panels, which were side by side before led to many complaints from visitors because many visitors thought the panels' respective positions were akin to putting the victims at the same level with their killers. These panels were rearranged back in

2006 and since then the complaints about this aspect have almost disappeared (Interview Peace Museum Director, 20 December 2012).

However, this room is still the most divisive since many visitors "do not understand why we talk about the ongoing conflict happening in the Basque Country, but this [part of the museum] was inevitable if we wanted to speak about peace today" (Ibid) The Museum's Director also argued that this room shows the great lengths the Basque people are going trough to leave in peace. As she explained, 'the Forest Room' deals with things that are still "very recent and very sore [after all this is] a more recent conflict and so it is harder to talk about it" (Interview, 20 December 2012).

The last thing visitors see at the end of the room, and therefore at the end of the exhibition is a quote from Mahatma Ghandi: "There is no way to peace, peace is the way". This was intentionally placed there as, according to the Museum's Director, "it is important to leave visitors with a thought, something that will stay in their minds for sometime after they have seen the panels and gone through all the rooms in the exhibition" (Interview, 20 December 2012). Furthermore, the organisation combines throughout the museum the devastating effects of war with positive messages and ideas such as reconciliation, hope and peaceful resolution. According to the Head of Education Department, this combination provokes very strong emotions in visitors and it "hopefully makes them leave the exhibition with a feeling that despite all the horrible things that happen in the world on a daily basis, there is always hope, and more importantly that everyone can make some changes to help peace, whatever small those changes might be" (Interview, 20 December 2012).

Partial reconciliation

According to the Head of Documentation Centre and the Museum's Director (Interviews, 20 December 2012) the survivors and their relatives seem to have found some peace "without forgetting what happened in Guernica in 1937, but by renouncing vengeance and reconciling with the heirs of their aggressors, allowing the open wounds to heal" (Muñoz, 2003, n.p). However, such reconciliation has happened only with Germany, since they officially apologised to Guernica and even offered some monetary help to the Peace Museum. But, many consider that this is just a 'partial reconciliation' since the other perpetrators, Italy and Spain, have not yet offered their apologies to the town. It is for this reason that in the panels of the

room that talks about the aftermath of the bombing, only Germany is mentioned in the panel named 'Reconciliation'. The Museum's Director claims that "many visitors do ask about this and why we put there only Germany, but we just tell them the truth, that the other two countries have not yet said sorry and they seem far from doing so. Until then, we only have an official apology from Germany" (Interview, 20 December 2012).

Despite the atrocity of what happened in Guernica, the victims and their relatives, according to the Head of Documentation Centre (Interview 20 December 2012), are keen on telling their stories and the museum continuing the research and showing the world what happened. This is a stark contrast to what happens in Belchite, where most victims and relatives think that the old town should not be left on display for tourists and that in fact it should be demolished. Inevitably, those residents of Belchite do not think reconciliation would ever be possible. This is just a small part of a wider ongoing debate about what to do with the Spanish Civil War heritage. Should it be destroyed or should it be preserved for remembrance? If it is to be remembered, what is to be remembered and how should this be done?

To conclude, the Guernica Peace Museum is a unique museum in Spain because of its conceptual design and visitor interaction, but also for being a rare museum that tells both Tragic and Epic stories (Gabriel, 1999) while also exploring an episode of the Spanish Civil War. With this in mind, the epic stories refer to the victims, not only those from Guernica, but all those that have managed to survive and carry on living after a conflict. At the same time, tragic stories are told about those same surviving victims but also about those that unfortunately did not survive the conflict. What is more, the Peace Museum's main aim is to educate visitors about the bombing of Guernica, current conflicts in the world, and different dimension of peace. In doing so, the museum strives to make visitors see and feel something that would make a lasting impression on them. As the Museum's Director put it: "Something changes within, the person who passes through the halls of the exhibition goes through a series of emotions and I am sure…that at some point they wonder [...]what kind of world we live in? And later on, maybe after some hours or some days, they will reflect on and ask themselves what can I do to change things?" (Peace Museum Director as quoted in EuskalKultura., 2004). Therefore, the Guernica Peace Museum, in a similar way to Old Belchite, went through a process of

'rectification' (Foote, 1997) in which events such as the bombing of Guernica, and perhaps even the Basque conflict, have been 'put right' by using them as a framework in the museum to understand peace and what happens where there is an absence of peace. Nevertheless, this happened not without controversy as the initial treatment of the ETA victims and perpetrators exuded a strong sense of dissonant heritage, which was later on moderated by the dominant political view about the ETA and stakeholders' intervention. All in all, the process of 'rectification' has also led the way for the current 'sanctification' state of the museum as it is today a dedicated space to remember and commemorate not only the victims of Guernica, but also all victims of any place where there is 'an absence of peace'.

Tables summarising findings across the six sites

The following tables explore the main findings of this research across the six dark tourism sites. These are drawn and organised according to the different levels of narrative analysis explained in the methodology chapter such as the tone of voice of the narrator; whether the experience is Readerly or Writerly; what type of stories are predominant at any given site. Above all, the table aims to demonstrate the answers coming from six different cases to the main research question of this study- namely, how and why dark tourism organisations create, organise and convey particular stories at sites under their management.

Site	Main Themes (Of collected data)	Main Narrator	Themes (of stories), Characters, and the Moral (Symbolism)	Tone Polysemic/Monosemic Readerly or Writerly experience	Contested/Controversial (Site and stories)	Emotions	Artefacts Memorialisation Outcome
The Tower of London	Entertainment Gore History Education	Yeoman Warders HRP	Comic/Tragic stories Torture, Punishment, Past Royalty, Traitors, 'History is so far back in time, let's laugh about it!'	Humorous (especially in guided tours) Writerly experience Monosemic (voice of curators and Yeoman Warders)	Not contested Controversy: 'Disneyfication' of punishment and gore	Fun Curiosity Titillation by gore Shock	Display panels, Videos Audio guide, Artefacts of punishment Designated site: important events/important people/crime and punishment
Hampton Court Palace	Tudor history Monarchs Education Entertainment	Guided tours and tour guides HRP	Epic Stories Life in the Tudor Royalty, Ghost sightings Tudors, Ghosts 'Learning history can be fun'	Warm/Didactic Monosemic (voice of the curators) Writerly experience	Not contested Not controversial	Intrigue Inspiration to learn Joy	Costumed interpretation Display panels, Videos Audio guide. Designated place: something important happened there –Henry VIII

IWML Holocaust Exhibition	History Evil and destruction Memorial Remembrance	Holocaust Exhibition Curators	Tragic Stories Ordinary lives before the Holocaust, Organised mass-killing, Personal stories of suffering and survival The victim (Jews in Europe), The villain (Nazi Germany) 'Learn, reflect on, and remember what humans are capable of	Sombre Monosemic (Voice of the victims) Readerly experience	Not contested but critical voices about the overall narrative and experience: Too much on ways of destruction, not enough on what is destroyed/lost; Learning and feel good factor, but is this enough? Certain initial controversies: location of the exhibition (at a war museum and outside Germany)	Journey from joy but uneasiness (the first room) to shock/horror (subsequent rooms) Sadness / Grief Empathy Hope (survival in the face of extreme evil)	Display panels, Videos Artefacts of daily life, mass extermination Personal stories (accompanied with real personal artefacts and pictures) Sanctified site: space for commemoration and remembrance of the victims of the Holocaust

Site	Main Themes (of collected data)	Main Narrator	Themes (of stories), Characters, and the Moral (Symbolism)	Tone Polysemic/Monosemic Readerly or Writerly experience	Contested/Controversial (Site and stories)	Emotions	Artefacts Memorialisation outcome
The Valley of the Fallen	Memorial (for what?) Reconciliation (lack of it?) Silence War/Peace?	Patrimonio Nacional	Tragic stories Sanitised architectural history; People involved in the design of the site; Almost no reference to the Civil War and the remains buried there, including Franco 'A symbol of *dismemory* and divisions'	Aseptic tone (in contrast to the polyphony about the site's history) Polysemic (Patrimonio Nacional vs. other stakeholders) Writerly experience	The site's history and its narrative silence is contested and controversial	Emotionally sterile (as per site management), yet invokes strong emotions of disgust, pride, confusion, sorrow, awe (grandeur of the site) and so on depending on one's personal and collective story	A4-size display boards explaining a sanitised architectural history No artefacts related to the site's or the Civil War's history Officially Obliterated site: any aspect related to Civil War removed from site. (Sanctified unofficially by stakeholders such as victims' associations or the ADVF)
Belchite	Remembrance Reconciliation Peace/War Forgiveness	Amateur tour guides and one official guide, No official organisation until 2013	Tragic/Epic Stories Belchite's destruction, Abhorrence of urban warfare, Individual sufferings, Belchite in the aftermath of the Civil	Sombre, serious, raw (exposing suffering *in situ*), positive (virtues of peace and forgiving) Polyphony inside the site until 2013 (Ghost	Stories contested in terms of detail but not the general message.	Sadness Shock Hope Fear (of personal	Guided tours No need for displays or artefacts- Ruins 'speak' for themselves. Rectified to Sanctified site: Belchite given new meaning – Peace.

		when Belchite Tourism founded.	War No clear villain or victim 'Ruins as a symbol of everybody suffering from war. Let's promote the message of peace'	chasers, Right wing extremists, amateur and official tour guides) Writerly experience	Site controversial in terms of 'what to do with the painful ruins' as well as safety and practicalities of visitation	harm owing to site's condition)	Everyone is a victim of war – senseless violence.
Guernica Peace Museum	Peace Hope Reconciliation Education	Peace Museum Curators	Tragic/Epic stories Human rights and their violation Bombing of Guernica Begoña's house (ordinary lives before and after the bombing) Other conflicts	Sombre, Embodied (Begoña's house) Contrasting (peace vs. war), Didactic, Encouraging Monosemic (voice of the victims of conflict) Readerly and Writerly experience	Stories of Guernica not contested but controversy about Basque conflict in *The Forest*	Shock (Picasso's *Guernica*) Uneasiness and empathy (Begoña's house) Sadness Hope	Panels of deconstructions (*Guernica*), metaphors, stories and facts; Fictional re-enactments (Begoña's house and rubble floor) Rectified to Sanctified site: conflict seen as absence of peace not in terms of victims or villains

Table 7. Summary of main findings across six sites

“[Men] have [sought], ever since they first became conscious of their own status, the meaning of Time when related to themselves, with its harsh facts of birth, growth and death. And this, not curiosity, is a man’s first and primary involvement with the past” (Plumb, 1969, p24)

Chapter 5. Discussion

The discussion chapter starts with a re-discussion of the findings from all six sites with regards to the main research question and objectives. These findings are summarised and synthesised with the reviewed literature on organising and storytelling, and dark tourism. Following this synthesis, the *Dark Tourism Organising and Storytelling Dimensions* model is introduced and explained. This model is based on the theoretical framework and findings of this thesis.

Discussion and synthesis of findings

As conjectured and confirmed in this study, all dark tourism organisations use storytelling and narratives at sites under their management to fulfil different organisational aims. Whether it is a dark site run by an organisation with clear boundaries, roles and members such as Hampton Court Palace and HRP or a site that is an open space for different types of visitors in pursuit of different aims such as the ruins of Belchite until March 2013; storytelling and narratives always featured as a way of organising in the selected cases. Moreover, the study also demonstrated the importance and rather uncontroversial nature of using real/fictional stories and associated real/replica/fictional artefacts in creating powerful and engaging narrative experiences for visitors at dark tourism sites irrespective of the histories that underpin them. Yes, some histories are very powerful on their own such as the Spanish Civil War and the Holocaust. Yet, from the perspective of establishing and managing a dark tourism site, these histories, like relatively lighter topics such as crime and punishment in medieval courts, still need specific stories and artefacts as well as specific storytelling techniques in a dark tourism site context to project meaningful, appropriate, and powerful messages and emotions onto visitors.

In this respect, the findings of the current study are consistent with the literature on organisations that storytelling and narratives feature in different organising acts including sensemaking, organisational learning, and managing organisational identities and conflicts inside and outside organisations (Boje 1991, 1995, 1999; Gabriel 1999, 2000, 2004; Czarniawska 1997, 2004, 2008). When considered in the context of dark tourism, these organising acts via storytelling and narratives manifest themselves as producing a certain visitation experience, and entertaining, educating, and involving visitors with the overall narrative experience

/the product on offer at the site. In this vein, they are closely associated with organisational aims such as creating and sustaining an overall identity and image for the site in question. All these decisions and their outcomes also imply that 'others'- namely, alternative stories and visitation experiences, organisational identities and images, and various stakeholders are ignored or denied by the organisations behind the sites (Seaton 2009; Winter 2010; Wearing and Darcy 2011).

For example, as summarised in Table 7, HRP allows the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace to offer visitors different interpretive and emotional experiences at sites under their management via different storytelling approaches regarding the themes, tones and morals of stories. Despite these differences, the interviews with the key informants and the observation data confirmed that these organisations ultimately aim visitors to perceive their visit to these sites of dark and otherwise histories as educational and fun. On the other hand, both the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML and the Guernica Peace Museum dwell on mass human suffering. In this respect, they aim to make visitor experience one of remembrance, reflection and education by using some overlapping themes, tones and morals in their stories. Although these findings on the integral role of storytelling and narratives in dark tourism organising and organisations may seem unsurprising, their significance can be better understood when one considers this study's findings on The Valley of the Fallen. The conspicuous absence of *in situ* storytelling and narratives about the site in the context of recent Spanish history attests to Patrimonio Nacional's *de facto* organisational aim to minimise its involvement in the ongoing controversies about the site. Patrimonio Nacional lets The Valley speak for itself without any intervention (Olmeda, 2009). However, such an organisational aim, as demonstrated, has repercussions for the overall visitor experience, particularly in reference to education and emotions of visitors, which relate to important organisational aims for the established dark sites explored in this study.

The high profile public controversies around the site, which have increased in the 2000s thanks to policy changes and legislations regarding the heritage of Civil War and Franco's dictatorship, means that Patrimonio Nacional's supervision and management of The Valley of the Fallen not only continues to be aseptic but also achieves a sort of 'policing' over stories and visitation (overall narrative) experience, no matter how ineffective this could be at times (e.g. Linares's experiment on

visitors and myths). The importance of organisational aims and associated storytelling in relation to dark tourism products and experiences becomes even more evident when one considers this study's findings on Belchite. The ruins of Old Belchite is similar to The Valley of the Fallen and the Tower of London in which a significant historical place can be easily turned into a dark tourism space without much investment in site development. Yet, lacking an organisation that would identify site borders, organisational members, and norms about visitor behaviour had kept Belchite an open space for diverse visitor pursuits. These ranged from ghost chasing enthusiasts to Falangists congregations, not to mention the wandering livestock! For a researcher, the ruins of Old Belchite signifies very significantly what happens in a dark history place when there is no Organising but many organisings, and when there is no Organisation but many organisations

As explored in this study, the storytelling and narratives in the selected dark tourism sites are shaped by the aims and objectives of the organisations behind these sites. However, as Polleta *et al.;* (2011) put it, above these goals and objectives lay the societal contexts in which dark tourism sites exist. While social contexts can include a diverse number of aspects, in the dark tourism context they can be considered alongside the dark tourism spectrum and its underpinnings (Stone 2006) and the dynamics of a heritage force field (Seaton 2001), including politicisation of memory (Radstone and Schwartz 2010). It was therefore another objective of this study to explore the influence of these broader social and historical contexts on the organising and storytelling in dark tourism sites. To begin with, some of the findings on the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML demonstrated the relevance of place when considering the social context effects (McDowell and Braniff, 2014; De Certau, 1984; Seaton, 2009). Because of the topic in question and the Exhibition's place in broader social and historical geography- i.e., inside a war museum and far away from the original sites where the Holocaust happened, IWML adopted a storytelling approach that physically and conceptually separates the Exhibition from the rest the museum. The Exhibition is in a completely separate area detached from mainly open and linked spaces in the remainder of the museum. Rather than focussing on the intriguing tools of mass killing with impersonalised narratives and occasional interactive experiences- as it is done in the rest of the Museum, the Exhibition puts extreme evil and the human suffering it caused to the forefront with poignant

personal stories, shocking artefacts, and an emotional and knowledge intense overall narrative experience. Given the sanctified nature of the Holocaust's memorialisation in the original and created sites, which at times leads to demands for perpetrators' absence (Messham-Muir, 2004), it is not surprising that such visible physical and conceptual distinctions are firmly in place.

The Valley of the Fallen, which was built by Franco as a symbol of reconciliation in Spain under his rule, proved to be another important case for the exploration of the influence of social contexts on organisational aims and storytelling approach in dark tourism. The ongoing 'Two Spains' division, which seems prevalent in people's storytelling about the Civil War and its aftermath has long been counterbalanced by the post-Franco era governments' "dismemory" approach (Yeste 2010). As a consequence and in the face of the hollowness of Franco's reconciliatory vision for the site, The Valley of the Fallen and its obliterated and aseptic narrative product represents Patrimonio Nacional's *de facto* organisational aim and solution, as endorsed by successive governments, to the 'Two Spains' issue and the Valley's potential for dissonant heritage and multiple sanctifications. Yet, the significant reactions to recent political interventions of site closure and "experts' committee" for The Valley's future actually demonstrate a very active heritage force field. In there, different stakeholders other than the government and Patrimonio Nacional can exert meaningful power, not necessarily for the site's 'desired' transformation, but at least to keep the status quo for The Valley. Conversely, despite existing in the same divided 'Two-Spains', both Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum seemed to have benefitted from and influenced by local and international contexts. As this study has found out, compared to The Valley, Belchite is relatively a marginal symbol of the 'Two Spains'. The localised history of the ruins and the victimhood has meant relatively little involvement from major national stakeholders. Thus, the site, without any organising leading to an organisation has remained an open interpretive space for many years. Such localised profile can be argued to have also helped the Belchite municipality's recent touristic enclosure and development of the site with official guide tours. This in turn appears to have happened without any significant political and ideological controversy observable at national level. Nevertheless, people's ongoing interest in the ruins of Belchite for the macabre and paranormal has meant that the organisation had to accommodate for this kind of

demand despite having an organisational aim of making the ruins of Belchite the symbol and space of peace.

On the other hand, the Guernica Peace Museum has benefitted from several international historical factors. To begin with, Picasso's painting *Guernica* has made the town's story internationally known and universally associated it with the evils of war. The involvement of foreign forces in the bombing of Guernica also meant that the story could go beyond the dichotomies of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. It is therefore not surprising that the Peace Museum's storytelling and narrative approach focus on the painting *Guernica* and other national and international stories of conflict and peace. At a national and local level, the federal autonomy system in Spain offers regions, like the Basque Country, political shelter from the potential political and ideological stalemates that the 'Two Spains' could bring when devising and organising dark tourism sites. Nevertheless, being in the Basque Country also has meant that the museum felt compelled to mention the Basque conflict, and do so in a way that was dissonant and subaltern when it came to discussing the victimhood. However, this led to a controversy and subsequent modification in one of the narrativised artefacts about victims and perpetrators in the Basque conflict.

As explored in this study, time- namely, chronological distance between the site and the tragic events it represents - is the second dimension of the heritage force field and the societal context in which dark tourism organisations exist. Time determines the relevance of political and ideological frameworks that have been associated with the dark history in question. In the case of Spain, the Civil War and its aftermath of 'Two Spains' divide seems to be still relevant and poised to continue for the foreseeable future, especially for a nationally significant site like The Valley. The influence of time over dark tourism storytelling and narrative outcomes in the Spanish cases therefore seems to be counterbalanced only by localised and internationalised aspects of the ruins of Old Belchite and Guernica, respectively. On the other hand, the two sites under the management of HRP demonstrate that a history, which is in distant past in time, makes dark tourism sites amenable to storytelling approaches and narratives that prioritise entertainment over other aims such as education and commemoration. This is the case even though these sites actually represent among others the power and lives of British monarchy over many

centuries. Nevertheless, certain political sensitivities and thus power dynamics also exist in these seemingly less politically and ideologically charged contexts. As discussed before, HRP, while making use of stories of former kings and queens for educational and entertainment aims, have to respect 'sensitivities' concerning the current British monarchy and their recent history.

As Scott and Davis (2013) put it, one should not expect a solely one-way relationship between the social context and the organisational aims and outcomes. This is because organisations influence their societal contexts, in the same way the social context influence organisations. More specifically, the importance of individual and organised stakeholders has been noted in the literature on organisations (Boje 1995, 1998) and dark tourism (Lennon and Foley 2000; Seaton 2001) with reference to organisational outcomes and products. In this vein, this study has identified the important roles different individuals and groups of people played in organising action and achieving outcomes in dark tourism sites. The foremost example of this is the recent 'tourist enclosure' in Belchite, which has been possible mainly by one of my key informants there-namely, the 'Official Guide of Belchite'. With his personal initiative and vision about the necessity of having an official tourist management body responsible for the site and the activities within, he managed to get municipal approval and support for creating a physical enclosure to separate the 'space' he envisioned for peace from the broader 'place' that is Belchite. The story of the Official Guide of Belchite, now the director of Belchite Tourism demonstrates that sometimes, what could be considered a relatively marginalised voice can ultimately make a difference on the way dark tourism sites are devised, managed and delivered to visitors. Similarly, Guernica municipality's vision for an exhibition and later on a museum on the town's bombing has made a permanent dark tourism mark in Guernica. Although Guernica has lost all the real scars of the bombing in 1937, a 'space' has been created around (re)created and storied artefacts, rather than authentic remains, as it is the case in Belchite, without much controversy regarding 'authenticity'.

Conversely, not all voices lead to a change in organisational aims or organising of a dark tourism site and the storytelling approach within. This has been most evident at The Valley of the Fallen. Here, different individuals have spearheaded efforts and established stakeholder organisations, such as the

Association for the Defence of The Valley of the Fallen and the Association pro Exhumation of Republicans from The Valley, to advance their respective visions about The Valley and the 'Two-Spains' they inhabit. Although these organisations seem to fail in bringing any substantial change to the site, one thing they collectively and perhaps inadvertently achieve and reproduce is the current state of The Valley and its concomitant controversies. As demonstrated before, this is most evident in terms of the storytelling approach adopted by Patrimonio Nacional, and its narrative outcomes at the site. Moreover, individuals and unlikely organisations such as the Benedictine order living at the site have rallied people to oppose and reverse political interventions such as the closure of the site for parishioners and worshippers. The fact that conflicting voices surrounding the site exist outside the limitations of the 'place' demonstrates that 'spaces' can be in fact created and given meaning by stakeholders beyond official narratives and decisions. Related to this but at a more practical level, the study also explored how some individuals and organisations such as the ADVF and its head Pablo Linares have voluntarily worked to promote The Valley as a tourism destination.

The observation (Boje 1995; Czarniawska 1997; Gabriel 2000) that not all the voices have the same power to change the official narrative or the decisions taken by an organisation has been corroborated by this study in the case of dark tourism organisation. This is closely related to how dark tourism organisations can make these voices 'othered', which means some stakeholders might find it hard to be heard over more "prominent voices" (Boje 1995). As previously explained, despite not being 'official 'at The Valley of the Fallen, Pablo Linares from the ADVF claims to have the power to influence what happens at the site as well as "defend the site from lies" (Interview 11 October 2012). He and his association also try to promote the Valley's 'true history' and tourism potential through offline and online material and presence well beyond the physical limitations of the site. More generally, voices of victims' associations, political groups and the press have made the site a potent symbol of the Civil War and its aftermath with its conflicting narratives and emotions around pain, suffering, victimhood, war and victory. The solution of Patrimonio Nacional to this polysemic and at times septic space is silence and keeping all these voices 'othered' and the site as aseptic as possible.

In the case of Belchite, which had long been an open and polysemic space, my local informants have voiced different visions and desires such as the destruction of the ruins, leaving the site in oblivion, and touristic development. Yet, it seems that the localised and open nature of the ruins' place and space underpins the lack of controversy and vehemence in these voices, visions and practices. Consequently, a single individual's vision and efforts could eventually become influential with the municipal assistance in transforming the ruins as a place into a new space of 'peace'. Once established though, sites and the organisations behind might have a lesser tendency to accommodate other voices that dispute parts or the whole of the overall narrative experience offered, especially if they aim to offer a monosemic narrative experience of 'peace'. It is therefore no wonder that those people who are more interested in grisly and haunted details than a message of peace are accommodated at night tours in the ruins of Old Belchite.

Another aspect that is found to have affected the power different voices can have on the storytelling and narratives at dark tourism sites is the aforementioned chronological distance. Tragic events that are within living memory are more likely to be controversial and contested by many different stakeholders than those in a far away past. For recent tragedies, victims and/or their relatives and advocates would still be alive and therefore would feel strongly about their own version of events. On the other hand, those events that happened centuries ago are unlikely to be contested or controversial as the victims' actual voices are long gone and probably replaced by historians' accounts, which curators can adapt in accordance with organisational aims and perceived visitor motivations and expectations. HRP's established dark tourism sites- i.e., the Tower and Hampton Court Palace deal with distant history as such and dictate with ease what is the 'relevant and interesting truth' via specific stories and an overall narrative to national and international audiences, given London's popularity as an international tourist destination.

The above evidence summarises why organisations behind dark tourism sites use storytelling and narratives and how broader historical-contextual factors and stakeholders shape the storytelling approach and narratives conveyed at these dark tourism sites. As demonstrated, specific storytelling approaches and narratives reflect dark tourism sites' organisational aim. However, specific stories and artefacts found in and associated with dark tourism places also shape these approaches and narrative

outcomes. As explored in the case of the Guernica Peace Museum, this site would not be such a popular touristic destination if it was not for Picasso's painting *Guernica* and what it symbolises: 'the horrors of conflict and the pain of its victims'. It was the painting that made the town's story internationally known. In a way, the painting of *Guernica* has become an 'open' space on its own that can be used in many different contexts and given diverse meanings suitable for each individual environment such as the Guernica Peace Museum. On the contrary, specific stories and the place itself with its position in the social and historical context of Spain shape the Valley of the Fallen into a space of official silence but diverse and generally vehement narratives.

In fact, from a thanatological consumption perspective (Stone and Sharpley 2008), stories and artefacts associated with death and macabre can be powerful enough to modify organisational approaches to storytelling. This was most evident in the case of Hampton Court Palace, a non-dark tourism site that does not want to be associated with death and macabre unlike the Tower of London. As such Hampton Court Palace is not considered a dark tourism destination yet it makes use of certain dark stories to attract dark tourism visitors. The alleged ghosts in the Palace only 'come out' from time to time, mainly during ghost tours when it is dark, which transforms the place into a light dark tourism space in which emotions of shock and intrigue are evoked with gory and 'paranormal' stories. Yet the ghosts are then put back 'into the closet' during daytime to allow 'normal' stories to evoke inspiration and joy in learning thanks to their "warm and lively…costumed" interpretation approach to history (HRP, n.d). The ruins of Old Belchite have also seen a similar transformation to accommodate for lighter and more titillating stories and narrative experiences sought by visitors. This is despite the fact that stories of Belchite are after all about a very tragic and controversial history-namely, the Spanish Civil War. Nevertheless, some stories and histories associated with the sites are too sanctified (the Holocaust) or controversial (The Valley's history), they are not amenable to lighter dark tourism products for consumption.

Given these similarities and differences in organising and storytelling approaches and outcomes in dark sites, it can be argued that stories about a dark site's history are used as objects of thanatological consumption and as tools to enhance the overall visitor experience. Yet, it is how these small and big stories

about each dark tourism site relate to time and power dimensions of the broader social context that shapes a site's transformation into a dark tourism destination with distinctive storytelling approach and overall narrative experience. As explored in this study, the ultimate success of the stories and the storytelling approaches in setting up and managing a site, including its visitors' expectations is not down to an isolated organisational vision by the dark tourism organisation. Other stakeholders, including visitors are involved by making public and/or bringing with them to the site their own expectations, ideas, stories, and emotions. In this vein, dark tourism experiences and stories, as has been discussed, are co-constructed by the official organisation and the stakeholders, including visitors.

In this study, the visitors' input into the co-construction process was explored by conceptualising it as a matter of dark tourism organisation's perception of 'what visitors want', and via key informant interviews and document analysis regarding organisational aims and policies. Moreover, my field observations in and personal experiences and emotional responses to the dark tourism sites were carefully recorded in separate research and personal diaries. With these triangulated and reflective data collection methods, it has been observed that dark tourism organisations share a common approach of setting organisational aims with reference to desired educational, entertainment, commemorative and emotional outcomes for their visitors. The perceptions of visitor motivations contribute to their formulation at two levels. The first one is a generic level in which dark tourism or heritage site visitors are seen as motivated to be entertained, educated, and emotionally stimulated via stories, artefacts and an overall narrative experience. The second is a specific level in which visitors are seen as expecting to experience a certain thing in a given site- namely, a certain type of stories, certain artefacts, certain emotions and learning moments, depending on the site's specific history and visitors' pre-visit expectations based on popular culture. The organisations then combine these two levels in order to devise specific storytelling approach and overall narrative experience with its constituting parts such as specific stories, artefacts, lighting and layout. However, in the process certain outcomes seem to undermine some of the organisational aims set in the first place

For example, in its aim to educate its visitors about the Tower of London and its role in crime and punishment among other aspects of the British monarchy since

its inception, the organisation takes into consideration visitors' expectation to be entertained by popular gory stories. In fact, the focus on gore marks the most interactive visitor experiences and the source of visible and loud entertainment in the Tower such as Yeoman Warders tours, video displays in which costumed actors explain how they were tortured/killed, and artefacts with which visitors can interact to simulate punishment practices. Such visitor experiences are actually criticised within the organisation itself with the concern that catering for a perceived popular demand for gore and macabre turns the site into 'Disney' like site where many rich historical aspects of the Tower are perceptively obliterated for many visitors. Compare these experiences with those of tourists who are presumably non-English speakers, and with my experience of taking the private tour in which I learned about those perceptively obliterated dimensions of the Tower in the history of British monarchy. On the other hand, Hampton Court Palace sees the site as a place to which visitors come to learn about the daily life of British monarchs. The organisation caters for this perceived motivation with a storytelling approach that makes learning history a warm and lively experience with tours and costumed interpretation. Just like The Tower of London, even Hampton Court Palace, despite not having strong dark tourism credentials or desire compared to some other sites caters for perceived visitor motivation to have an enjoyable thanatological consumption experience that fit their pre-visit expectations (Boorstin 1967; Stone and Sharpley 2008), albeit in restricted ways (i.e., certain times of the year, always after daylight).

In the case of the sites that deal with recent episodes of mass suffering and tragedy, the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML and the Guernica Peace Museum both take a didactic approach with the perception that visitors are motivated to learn about the different dimensions of these tragedies via individual stories, artefacts and an overall narrative. Moreover, visitors are also assumed to be contemplative on these narrative experiences' significance for various dimensions such as evil, hope, war and peace. While both organisations deliver such an experience, they also take into consideration how visitors might react to stories and artefacts on display to cater for these perceived visitor motivations. For example, IWML expects the whole experience to be shocking and overwhelming for visitors, and therefore offers a historical-chronological layout to contextualize personal stories and artefacts, and a breathing space. Moreover, by putting certain rules in place, the Exhibition makes

sure that visitors do not turn their experience into a recreational or worse voyeuristic one. The Guernica Peace Museum similarly provides different themes, layouts and rules throughout the exhibition, not to mention a panic button in a part of the exhibition where they expect visitors to have a shocking learning experience. One significant aspect of the Guernica Peace Museum, which is not observable in the Holocaust Exhibition, is that the Museum actually uses the bombing of Guernica and the famous Picasso painting as two well-known stories by visitors to attract them to a space where they are encouraged to contemplate on war and peace more than they probably expected to learn about the historical details of *Guernica* the painting, and the Spanish Civil War. Yet, this does not amount to a situation in which there is a mismatch between the organisational aims and the overall experience because of catering for perceived visitor motivations.

The ruins of Old Belchite had long been an open space where different visitor expectations ranging from commemoration to ghost chasing could be experienced. The recent enclosure of the site and the foundation of a tourism organisation with specific aims and goals allowed this study to observe not only how individual stakeholders could transform dark tourism sites but also how organisational aims cannot always be reflective of all perceived/observed visitor expectations/actions including the pursuit of "pseudo-events" and their catering by dark tourism organisation (Boorstin, 1967; MacCannell, 1973). Similar to the Holocaust Exhibition where explicitly voyeuristic and recreational visitations are not allowed, the enclosure of the ruins of Belchite has started the site's transformation into a didactic space of peace where human suffering is told beyond dichotomies of 'Two-Spains', albeit during the day! On the other hand, the localised and relatively marginalised nature of the site in relation to the Spanish Civil War's heritage force field can explain its dramatic transformation as well as the accommodation of some of the organisationally less desirable visitor expectations during designated tours in the evening.

Despite these successes in creating and managing a dark tourism site, as noted by the majority of my interviewees in Spain and in line with my own observations in different sites, developing storytelling approach and narratives for dark histories in Spain remains difficult on account of the open wounds and enduring controversies of the Spanish Civil War. By contrast, dark sites in the UK do not have to be careful of

such considerations when devising their storytelling and narrative approach since the events they are dealing with are more distant in time and place and, therefore, less likely to be contested or controversial. Yes, the tragic events commemorated by the Holocaust Exhibition at the IWML happened in living memory of some people. However, these events permit a clear identification of victims and villains (unlike those at the Spanish sites) and, therefore the storytelling and narratives at this site, like those at the other two UK sites, can present them in ways that do not allow much room for controversy or contestation.

All the organisations studied in this research possess not only perceptions about visitor motivations but also desires about how visitors should feel and act in certain ways towards the history, stories, artefacts and the overall narrative offered at the site. This is the case even in The Valley of the Fallen where Patrimonio Nacional deliberately sustains a policy of conspicuous lack of *in situ* stories. This official narrative silence attests to Patrimonio Nacional's seeming aim of keeping the site as aseptic and narratively barren as possible in the face of ongoing national contestations and controversies on the site. In fact, Patrimonio Nacional is very much aware of the *de facto* polysemic and most of the time septic story space The Valley of the Fallen has been for a long time. Yet, this is the very same reason why it ignores this storytelling space as well as any visitors' motivation and its management. By silencing the site and barely presenting any stories, the organisation aims to avoid provoking any additional emotional response on the part of visitors during or after their visits. As long as the site or its polysemy is silent and orderly, Patrimonio Nacional does not care which emotional and learning state (e.g., curious, awestruck, disgusted, sad, angry, proud) visitors come to and leave the site and whether this is ethnical or not. For me, this site is like a movie theatre in which a movie is being played but the characters have no voice, there is no movement, it is just a screen, a picture with no sound that does not tell you anything beyond what you can see in that single snapshot and not being able to ask questions about what the movie is all about. Patrimonio Nacional's approach to managing The Valley of the Fallen is a clear example of what Urry (1990) referred to as guiding the 'tourist gaze' to what they want visitors to see (i.e. it is an architecturally awesome site) and not things that could probe problematic (i.e., why it was constructed – a hollow symbol of reconciliation; and why is it related to the Spanish Civil War). This is unlikely to

change anytime soon since unaware visitors are not likely to go beyond the 'fabricated' aseptic space that has been created for them by Patrimonio Nacional as way to cope with the broader social and historical contexts of the Spanish Civil War heritage. The Valley therefore lends support to MacCannell's (1973) view of understanding any dark site fabrication and staged authenticity in terms of the social relations of tourism. Yet, the consequence of those relations in the Spanish context-namely, the polysemic storytelling space for other stakeholders of The Valley of the Fallen is very much alive with only one agreeable theme for all the stakeholders-namely, 'the need for the site to transform into [*fill this gap in accordance with what you strongly believe*]'.

As reviewed in this study, emotions are an important aspect of setting and achieving organisational aims and goals (Fineman 2001; Gabriel 2008). Dark tourism organisations are no exception (Tarlow, 1999; Stone and Sharpley 2008). As demonstrated in the study, the prescribed emotions and emotional responses by visitors at the selected sites are achieved through the use (or silencing) of certain stories. With these storytelling choices and specific stories, the dark tourism organisations create what Denzin (1984) named "emotional understanding" (p137) of events. Similar to the emotional connection with or transportation to organisational stories (Bal and Veltkamp, 2013; and Bal *et al.,* 2011), the dark tourism organisations strive for a certain emotional transportation of visitors to the history and stories of the site in distinctive ways for the desired outcomes (Taylor and Todman 2012; Frew 2012; Chronis *et al.*2012). In this vein, De Certeau's (1984) description of stories as "spatial trajectories [that] serve as transportation [vehicles]" (p115) is quite apt for this demonstrated process of transporting visitors to each site, its history, stories and their characters.

With this in mind, the findings of this study also suggest that all the dark tourism sites regardless of being in the lighter or darker end of Stone's spectrum (2006) have the potential to shock visitors by the experience and associated stories and narrativised artefacts on offer. The shock in some sites is associated with other emotions like sadness and grief, which seem to originate from the nature of the history on offer, e.g., the Holocaust, and the narrativised artefacts presented such as many different pairs of old shoes, and dissection table. On the other hand, at other dark tourism sites such as The Tower of London, the shock is associated with

positive emotions like joy and titillation, especially during interactive parts of the overall narrative experience. These emotional experiences are actively encouraged by the organisation and the way it creates and conveys stories at the site (e.g. using humour throughout). This also raises ethical questions about the use of human suffering for entertainment and commercial purposes (Strange and Kempa 2003). In the same way as the Holocaust Exhibition, in Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum, main emotional response of shock comes naturally to visitors when learning about horrible events that happened at those sites. In Belchite, despite the lack of narrativised artefacts, walking around the ruins is a shock factor on its own that is augmented by stories offered by the tour guides. Likewise, in Guernica, the audio-visual story of Begoña and the rubble-glass floor in the adjacent room deliver a similar shock despite both being fabricated and fictional. This shock and associated feelings of sadness also owes to the embodied experience that visitors have. In all these three sites of mass death and destruction, visitors' shock, grief and sadness are accompanied by empathy towards the victims.

In contrast to these sites, The Valley of the Fallen as a place itself generates a range of emotions that originate from different sources such as the official silence, the grandeur of the place, the history, myths and stories surrounding the site. These emotions are closely associated with visitors' and stakeholders' individual and collective identities and stories. For example, some stakeholders claim that many visitors think that thousands of people died during the Valley's construction, which they dispute by archival sources and attribute to a popular confusion of the numbers of interred in the site with small number of its construction causalities (E.g., Interview Barcena, 8 May 2012). Yet, some people might even question the authenticity of such archival sources while others visit and leave the site unaware of all these controversies, and rejoice in its architectural grandeur. On the other hand, at Hampton Court Palace, the history of the site does not seem to offer any shock unlike those described above. It was only after that paranormal incident in 2003, this heritage site started to evoke emotions of intrigue and shock that are associated with dark tourism sites.

As explored in the literature review, in daily life and organisational settings, including heritage sites, engaging people emotionally with a story and emotionally transporting them to this story is closely associated with the aim of generating

empathy amongst listeners for different outcomes such as learning, attitude change, and action (e.g. Bal *et al.;* 2013; Goleman, 2008; Fleming, 2012; Stone and Sharpley 2008). This study has found that empathy is actually considered by some of the studied dark tourism organisations as the most important aspect, mainly at the Holocaust Exhibition, the ruins of Old Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum, where the history is particularly shocking and saddening. At these sites, the ability to place visitors 'in the shoes' of those who suffered helps make a difference in the determination of whether the visit would be just something to be forgotten just like a history lesson in a classroom, soon after it is finished, or something that can change visitors and help them reflect upon various deeper issues such as human suffering, injustice, the nature of peace and reconciliation. As per my observations and personal experiences in these sites, the second outcome is much more likely. However, same type of empathy evoking emotional experience could not be observed for the Tower of London. This was especially the case when the plights of individuals were told in graphic detail to generate titillation among visitors. In Hampton Court Palace, the interactive aspects of tours such as experiencing an audience with the monarch helped visitors understand seemingly strange practices for modern day conventions. Yet, empathy evoked here simply related to learning this and other ordinary aspects.

This study explored other challenges and opportunities the dark tourism organisations face when they manage places and histories of human suffering. As Tarlow (1999) put it, "archaeology of death" (p20) or places, buildings, ruins, cemeteries and monuments that relate to a dark past are encrusted with different meanings and emotions. As demonstrated in this study, it is these aspects of emotions and meanings attached to dark sites in the broader societal and historical contexts that constitute the origins of the major challenges and opportunities a dark tourism organisation faces. Both The Valley of the Fallen and the ruins of Old Belchite are prime examples of this phenomenon in Spain as these sites as a place both exude in different ways the suffering brought about by the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. The meanings and emotions to be managed via stories, narrativised artefacts and an overall narrative experience in these places are therefore broadly about this recent tragic episode in the Spanish history. However, the interpretative outcomes achieved by storytelling and narratives in these sites and beyond, and thus their transformation into managed organisational 'spaces' (De Certeau, 1984;

Yanow, 1998; McDowell and Brainiff, 2014) are wildly divergent because of the ongoing controversies and more importantly at which level they take place in the societal context. In this respect, the Valley of the Fallen is actively prevented from becoming anything other than an aseptic site that suppresses dissonant and subaltern heritages (Hage, 2006; Smith 2006). These subaltern heritages are clashing in the wider Spanish society under a dominant political ideology of 'reconciliatory' dismemory (Yeste, 2010), and are thus 'othered' from the Valley of the Fallen. The ruins of Old Belchite on the other hand has journeyed from being an open space for dissonant and subaltern heritages, not to mention ghost chasers, flocks of sheep and adult movie makers to being enclosed and becoming "a space of peace" (Email communication Official guide of Belchite, 4 September 2014). This journey has happened away from the gaze of nationwide stakeholders of the Spanish Civil War heritage force field.

In contrast, in both the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace, albeit both being original historical buildings that were integral parts of the British monarchy and thus sedimented with many different historical events, visitor emotions and experiences are managed by selected stories and particular storytelling approaches generally in line with the organisational aims but swayed by perceptions about visitors' motivation and popular stories on gore, macabre and ghosts. As this study has shown, this approach at both sites seems to be that of entertainment first and education second, with emotional results such as intrigue and joy (Hampton Court Palace), and shock and titillation (the Tower of London). The prevalence of popular stories about gore and macabre at the Tower of London seems to sway its organisational aims and storytelling approach more than what an isolated ghost apparition could achieve in Hampton Court Palace. Nevertheless, both the Tower and Hampton Court Palace are examples of how perceptions about popular visitor expectations can determine the way organisational aims and goals are formed and pursued. In this respect, they lend support to Boorstin's (1967) argument that it is mass tourists' popular demand that lead to authenticity issues. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in this study, the time dimension in the HRP sites' heritage force field (Seaton 2001) is also very influential in these partial and overall narrative outcomes. This is because re-enacted popular stories are concerned with characters long dead and historical episodes long past. They are thus not prone to cause controversy about

authenticity and ethics as much as a ghost tour or a titillating story about a recently deceased royal could do! Such a product offer is probably not possible, given the contemporary social relations of dark tourism in the UK (MacCannell, 1973).

When it comes to the Holocaust Exhibition and the Guernica Peace Museum, this study demonstrates these sites' most prolific common feature- namely, being in a purpose-build building and hence a space that reflects specific organisational aims and objectives. More specifically, through a re-created environment at the Holocaust Exhibition (e.g., dark rooms, replica of a carriage to concentration camps), the organisation brings to life many different stories of the Holocaust, and succeeds in being a space in which visitors are physically, emotionally and didactically guided through the history of the Holocaust. Yes, IWML has no option but to go for a fabricated (not in the original context of atrocity) space and thus offer a staged authenticity (Boorstin, 1964; and MacCannell, 1973). Relatedly, at the Guernica Peace Museum, a fictional story has been created around fictional artefacts such as Begoña's house and the rubble glass floor since there are no remains left from the bombing. Yet, none of the overall narrative experiences offered on each site does prove problematic from the perspective of educating visitors and helping them to contemplate on the main themes offered. These findings demonstrate the important role of artificial settings, replicas and even fictional stories to enrich the storytelling approach and the visitor experience aimed in dark tourism sites. They also demonstrate the need to go beyond 'fabricated' vs. 'authentic' debates in tourism and dark tourism (e.g., Boorstin, 1964 and MacCannell, 1973; also in Strange and Kempa, 2003) and explore this aspect from what Cohen (2011) proposed to do- namely, *in populo*. In this vein, the fictional narratives and artificial artefacts are not necessarily negative for these dark tourism sites' authenticity as the words might suggest. Instead, they constitute "access points to an experience of the past" (Holtschneider, 2012, p94) in a space that "embod[ies] and emphasize[s] the story of people to whom the tragedy befell" (Cohen 2011, p194) in accordance with the organisational aims of education and contemplation.

Another objective of this study was to explore the semiotic aspects of the selected sites and how they relate to storytelling and narratives found in these sites. As discussed in the literature review, semiotics of dark sites concerns how physical place such as a monument itself and/or a museum building, and spaces created within

and around these places create affordances for visitors in their interpretative and emotional experiences (Chandler, 1995; Gabriel, 2008; Seaton, 2009). This type of semiotic affordance however happens within the broader social and historical context where the dark tourism organisation and its stakeholders operate and interact. Bearing in mind the discussion so far, Foote's (1997) four memorialisation outcomes is useful to summarize them in relation to the semiotic aspects of each site. The ruins of Belchite, before it was enclosed, were a place of open interpretative space where a wide range of stakeholders pursued a wide range of activities. In this vein, the ruins, given their dramatic physical state, remained 'designated' yet polysemic. After the organisational enclosure, it seems that the site is going through a transformation into a more monosemic space where human suffering irrespective of their political/ideological affiliation is told to demonstrate the importance of peace. This is an attempt at rectifying the previous state of the site and sanctifying it with a strong message of peace. Yet the polysemic history of the site means that Belchite Tourism feels rather compelled to cater at designated times for the demand for certainly less 'serious' experiences beyond what the ruins should symbolise. Both the Holocaust Exhibition and the Guernica Peace Museum are similarly 'sanctified' in the sense that they give strong messages about what sorts of evil and tragedy can befall on us humans when there is conflict and no peace. Nevertheless, the Guernica Peace Museum's overall narrative is relatively less rich in terms of historical details of the tragic events for the sake of encouraging visitors to contemplate on the different dimensions of peace. It is this aspect of the Museum as well as its take on the Basque conflict that invite polysemic reactions by visitors.

In the case of the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace, both sites are conceptualised as 'designed' in this study because both sites entertain and educate their visitors about selected aspects of the history of British monarchy, such as crime and punishment and daily court life, which are not amenable to a strong message about themes that the other selected sites dwell on. Consequently, the voice of curators and costumed interpreters including Yeoman Warders cater for perceived visitor motivations about the sites and produce a monosemic space of joy and intrigue, and titillation and shock by gore. Nevertheless, both places can actually provide a space for other sorts of experiences and meanings. In Hampton Court Palace, this is now possible by the ghost tours offered during the evenings, which

brings the site closer to a light dark tourism symbol. However, in the Tower of London, I experienced this polysemic space as a researcher taking part in the private tour and learning about many different aspects of the Tower and its history without necessarily feeling like being in a light dark tourism site. I also observed reactions other than titillation and shock by gory among visitors who did not participate in the guided tours and went about observing and experiencing the site in a seemingly different emotional mode.

Semiotically, perhaps the most interesting site is The Valley of the Fallen. As explored during this study, The Valley has been officially obliterated in terms of its original construction purpose of reconciliation and its potential sanctification during Franco's rule. Such purposes have not work effectively given the controversies the site has nurtured since its opening. These controversies also underpin the polysemic story space in which the past, present and future of the Valley is discussed, negotiated and challenged. It is this very polysemic space that Patrimonio Nacional strives to displace from the physical site. It does so with the endorsement of most of the Spanish governments, which have pursued the 'dismemory' policy for reconciliation in the post-dictatorship era in Spain. The outcome of this *de facto* organisational aim is a polysemic space of multiple interpretations and emotions, which is very loud, and many a times septic outside the site. *In situ*, these interpretations and emotions can exist as long as they are not seen nor heard by Patrimonio Nacional or others.

Relatedly, this study sought to establish the tone used in the storytelling and stories and how they reflected the semiotics of each site. At the Holocaust Exhibition the general tone is sombre, and therefore conveys a message that it is a place for reflection, sadness and remembrance. On the other hand, the Tower of London uses a loud and humorous tone throughout, which associates the whole site with fun, entertainment and excitement. Contrastingly, at Hampton Court Palace the general tone is seemingly soft, calm and warm, like the one a grandmother might use to tell a story to her grandchildren over a cup of tea. However, this seems not to be the case during the seasonal ghost tours in which a more exciting and thrilling tone of voice is used (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 13 May 2012). In the Spanish sites studied, Belchite (guided tours), and the Guernica Peace Museum exude a seemingly sombre and serious tone in their stories. Nevertheless, this tone is mixed

in both sites with one of hope and reconciliation. Last but not least, as one gets more familiar with The Valley of the Fallen and its history, one hears many different stories with many different tones such as indifference (Patrimonio Nacional), anger (APERV), pride (Francisco Franco Foundation), fact/figure-laden (Barcena), and affection (ADVF and resident monks). However, these tones are generally mutually exclusive.

All in all, all the above discussed aspects of storytelling and narratives in the dark tourism sites should be read with the conjecture that it is impossible for dark tourism organisations to control the way each and every visitor personally interprets the history and stories, and makes sense of their experiences at dark tourism sites. Nevertheless, as discussed in the literature (Fineman, 1993; Hoschild, 1993; Gabriel, 1999) and demonstrated in this study, organisations exploit our emotions and social consciousness about national emotional rules or frameworks of remembrance (Strange and Kempa 2003) to induce us to act and feel in certain ways. In the case of the dark tourism organisations studied in this thesis, irrespective of different histories they dwelled on and the organisational aims they pursued, these organisations commonly combined the physical aspects of their original/artificial site (layout, lighting, artefacts) with the aspects of their particular storytelling approach (tone, content/stories per se and delivery). These combinations helped these organisations give strong and consistent emotional cues to their visitors and hence influence their interpretative and emotional experience in line with their organisational aims.

The full involvement of visitors with these aspects determines whether the overall aims of the organisation behind the dark tourism site are achieved or not (i.e., Have visitors learned something? Have they been entertained? Have they reflected on human suffering told here?). Although it is the actual stories, including those fictional and/or embellished ones, and the different storytelling approaches by the organisations that ultimately define the experience at a dark tourism site, without story-related artefacts and different means of conveying them, the stories cannot be as powerful and emotionally engaging for visitors. This type of enriched and holistic interpretation is vital to the visitor experience, as without it, dark tourism destinations might exist largely as "empty space without context" (Podoshen 2013. p265; see also Sharpley and Stone 2009; Frew 2012). As demonstrated in this study, stories and artefacts and their contribution to the overall narrative experience are

crucial in the fulfilment of the dark tourism organisations' aims, including educating visitors.

As discussed in the literature, education is one of the organising factors or justifications behind the dark tourism organisations' commodification of death, gore and human tragedy (Lennon, 2005; Daams 2007; Cohen, 2011; Garcia, 2012). Stone (2012) already discussed the use of different stories for educational purposes at dark tourism sites: "By providing particular narratives, the dead can be encountered for educational purposes" (p1576). On the other hand, Ashworth (2004) argued that managers of dark tourism could use education as a justificatory or balancing aim, when they try to cater for perceived visitor motivation for entertainment, and create/manage a commercially successful tourist attraction. In this vein, practices that might be classified unethical, such as embellishing historical facts to make a story more entertaining, and charging visitors a fee to enter a site that has seen suffering and human tragedy might be justified by dark tourism organisations and their educational aims and purposes. Considering the existing literature on dark tourism and the results of this study, it can be argued that only some sites can actually achieve the idea of combining education and entertainment- namely, edutainment (Ashworth 2003), without generating significant controversy.

As discussed in the literature review, edutainment emerges as an attempt to address the organisational perceptions about what visitors want to hear and experience at dark tourism. As an organisational goal, it affects the ways stories are told and/or embellished, fabricated and sanitized in dark sites (Uzzell 1989; Ashworth, 2003). Edutainment can also veer the dark tourism experience towards the lighter side of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone 2006). As demonstrated in this study, this was especially evident at the Tower of London, where the stories of imprisonment, torture and execution of famous and otherwise historical figures have been exaggerated and embellished. Through these embellishments and use of humour, these unpleasant stories are transformed into something 'lighter' that audiences from all ages can experience. On the other hand, such an edutainment approach associated with light dark tourism sites was nowhere to be seen in the sites related to mass killings and human suffering. Education, reflection and remembrance were the palpable organisational aims when the visiting and research experiences were considered in these sites. As argued and demonstrated before, some sites and

the histories they represent as well as the emotional rules and social conscious of a society and us human beings are not amenable to mixing aims like education with entertainment. However, when such rules and conscious suffer from certain disagreements and ambiguities at national level, then it can be hard for sites of mass suffering to have any unambiguous organisational aim of commemoration, reflection and education. The Valley of the Fallen as a site finds solution to this issue in silence and semiotic obliteration *in situ*.

The HRP Head of Access and Learning at Historic Royal Palaces stated the following about ultimate visitor experience: "At the end of the day it is visitors that make their own mind about past events and about the site in general" (Interview HRP Head of Access and Learning, 7 March 2013). Irrespective of this argument (see also Robb, 2009), the findings of this study demonstrated that the organisations behind the sites aimed to manage and sway visitors' perceptions in particular ways that were in line with their aims. As inspired by Barthes' (1974) conceptualization, the subject of whether particular stories and/or dark tourism experiences are open to visitors' own interpretation- Writerly experience, or if everything (how to interpret stories, how to feel, and so on) is provided to visitors, leaving little room for individual judgement- Readerly experience elegantly capture the semiotics of storytelling in dark tourism sites. They were therefore investigated in this study. During a Writerly experience, visitors are given room to co-create the overall narrative experience at dark tourism site. As Barry and Parry (2013) put it, "in constructing stories to make sense of something, we [visitors] help to make the thing itself, which is created and represented by the story" (p32).

Out of all the dark tourism organisations explored in this study, the only one that is predominantly Readerly is the Holocaust Exhibition. The Holocaust is a widely accepted historical phenomenon of extreme evil and human suffering, which is only contested by marginalised actors in international and national contexts (Lipstadt, 1993; Shermer and Grobman, 2000). Inside the exhibition, as experienced by me during my field observation, visitors have "hardly any opportunity to deviate from the path [as] the dominant narrative seeks to provide the audience with a self-contained and accessible story" (Holtschneider, 2012, p94). Although one would expect a similarly Readerly experience in the Guernica Peace Museum, given the undisputed story of the town's bombing, it appears that the overall experience at the

site is Writerly. This is because the site dwells on other stories and ongoing conflicts such as the Basque conflict in ways that are not so clear-cut with usual reference characters of conflicts and human suffering. The remaining four cases are all predominantly Writerly for different reasons. In Belchite and The Valley of the Fallen, Writerly experience stems from the lack of stories, information and organisational engagement with visitors and other stakeholders. Nevertheless, in Belchite, there is a possibility of turning the experience into a Readerly one with a guided tour. This is unlike what generally happens at The Valley of the Fallen, which is devoid of any *in situ* narrative bearing. The Valley thus reproduces visitors' existing interpretations, which can be widely contrasting or totally devoid of the human suffering in the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. In the UK, both Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London deliver historical stories of punishment, gore, and monarchy in humorous and entertaining tones. Although the particular stories offered in these two sites are Readerly, with clear beginnings, middle and end, the overall visitor experience is generally Writerly owing to these sites' light dark tourism features alongside their rich but not necessarily dark histories, stories and artefacts.

Related to the Readerly or Writerly nature of the overall narrative experience presented to visitors, the overall narrative and stories told at different dark tourism sites and thus the core of visitors' experiences can be reappraised from the story types of tragic, comic, and epic (Gabriel, 1999) as well as where they might fall in the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006). For example, the Holocaust Exhibition at IWML and the Guernica Peace Museum to a lesser extent present a classic tragic story with clear victims and villains; by contrast, in Belchite the tragic narrative seems to be more ambiguous with less well-defined protagonists, victims and villains. Nevertheless, the history of these sites involving violent deaths and destruction and the overall narratives that frame them places them at the darker end of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006). On the other hand, Hampton Court Palace seems to vacillate between a daily historical and factual narrative, reflecting its royal legacy and a comical and ghoulish narrative that is present only at the occasional ghost tours. In contrast, a comical, ghoulish and black-humorous narrative seems to be the Tower of London's most noticeable feature despite its rich history. These overall narrative products place these sites towards the lighter end of Stone's

(2006) dark tourism spectrum. Last but not least, The Valley of the Fallen in Madrid presents a chaotic narrative, one that is at war with itself due to the many contending stories competing for ascendancy without being able to find closure yet. In this vein, this site exudes many voices and colours, making it less coherent to its visitors, stakeholders and the general public.

It seems that by being co-interpreters of the stories and history in question, the voices of visitors and other stakeholders help construct and challenge the reality of each site, and modify or add certain values to it. With this process, which takes place in a particular societal context, a site becomes a place of commemoration or a place of fun. As Robb (2009) put it "as societies, we clearly choose which places we want to memorialise. Because not all violent events capture tourists' imagination or develop into full-fledged attractions. Those that do reflect certain power-laden discourses about how violence intersects with history and memory" (p54). Therefore, the following questions become significant: Which sites should be preserved and which ones forgotten or even destroyed? More importantly who has the right to decide about such crucial questions about an episode of violence that intersects with a society's history and memory? These two issues are significant because as Todorov (2002 as quoted in Aguilar, 2008) argued "maintaining the memory of the tragic events might lead to hatred and vengeance, but oblivion might also have negative effects" (p65). These questions are ever more relevant for sites that deal with mass human suffering, especially in a societal context like Spain, where there are national ambiguities about emotional rules and social consciousness about suffering of 'others'.

Meanwhile, from the findings of this research across six dark tourism sites in two countries, the following observations can give answers to the above question of who has the right to tell a story in pursuit of remembering and forgetting. As demonstrated in this study, we, as societies, seem to attribute authority to certain organisations we deem capable and appropriate to interpret and transmit the past to us, in accordance with national emotional rules and social consciousness about mass human suffering. Dark tourism organisations are generally accepted to be among those organisations as they mediate between "the individual and collective self" (Stone and Sharpley, 2013, p2) in making sense of mass human tragedies and suffering. However, there would always be stakeholders that do not agree with this

societal authority given to dark tourism organisations to tell a particular history and stories at dark tourism sites. Stakeholders might thus try to claim rights over these histories and stories, which might make it challenging for organisations to balance different perceptions about the history and stories presentable at dark tourism sites. The sites explored in the UK, and the organisations that manage them seem to be widely respected and given a storytelling licence in the British society, albeit with clear boundaries around sensitive contemporary matters such as the Royal Family. Consequently, they have not encountered much controversy about their activities, and contesting stories against the ones they offer in the sites under their management. This rather challenge free environment is also explainable by the histories they dwell on in the UK's heritage force field too (i.e., the Holocaust - marginalised controversy and almost universally sanctified; Daily life, crime and punishment in the medieval British courts-Distant past enough to be told in humorous tones, which is also perceived to be a popular demand).

Unlike the UK, Spain seems not to have reached a consensus on which organisations and groups have a widely accepted social mandate to interpret and transmit the past in what ways and for what purposes to its citizens and visitors. This is not very surprising given the recent history of Spain that includes a civil war, the subsequent dictatorship for many decades, and a very successful transition to democracy on the shoulders of a notorious 'pact of silence' and policy of dismemory. All these aspects constitute parts of the Spanish society's living memory. This transition and its accompanying muted memories or 'dismemories' have however not resolved the 'Two-Spains' problem described before (Cuesta, 2008). More specifically for dark tourism sites, it has also led to the problematic of deciding how the history and stories about this recent history would be and who would appear as the victim and the villain, and so on. It can thus be argued that these ongoing debates have become a simultaneously co-constructed and co-challenged narrative in its own right, and this is being epitomised in The Valley of the Fallen and the visitation experiences one has there. This site represents the fact that Spaniards cannot resolve a significant part of their recent history. It comes to light as a symbol of an open wound that seems, at the moment, impossible to heal. However, when the findings of this study on Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum are considered, one can have a more optimistic prediction about the future of The Valley and the rest of Spain.

After all, both Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum are good examples of how individuals and organisations can influence their environment and succeed in telling specific stories and relevant histories of Spain with strong messages for peace and reconciliation. Such influences are also present at The Valley among other less desirable influences. Nevertheless, they currently seem to contribute to the reproducing of the official silence and the loud divergent voices around the site.

Certainly, through the use of particular stories and storytelling approaches at dark tourism sites, dark tourism organisations actually organise their own aims ,and visitors' experiences and emotions, amongst others. What is more, the deliberate silencing of certain stories at dark tourism sites is done with a view to making the visitation experience a coherent one, for example edutainment vs. commemoration, and thus in line with organisational aims and goals. On the other hand, a near-to- full silencing of all stories such as the one observed at The Valley of the Fallen seems to in fact 'disorganise' the whole experience for visitors. With this type of full silencing, the organisation in question actually fails to fulfil one of its main duties, which is to interpret and communicate our past. Nevertheless, like The Valley of the Fallen and Patrimonio Nacional, all the sites, stakeholders and organisations explored in this study operate in a specific context of history and current society. They influence and are influenced by these contexts.

Dark tourism organising and storytelling dimensions model

As one of the objectives of this study, a model is developed here. The Dark Tourism Organising and Storytelling Dimensions Model shows the central elements and patterns in the organising and storytelling approach at dark tourism sites by building on the theoretical framework of and empirical findings of this study across the six case studies. The model is illustrated in the following figure (figure 37):

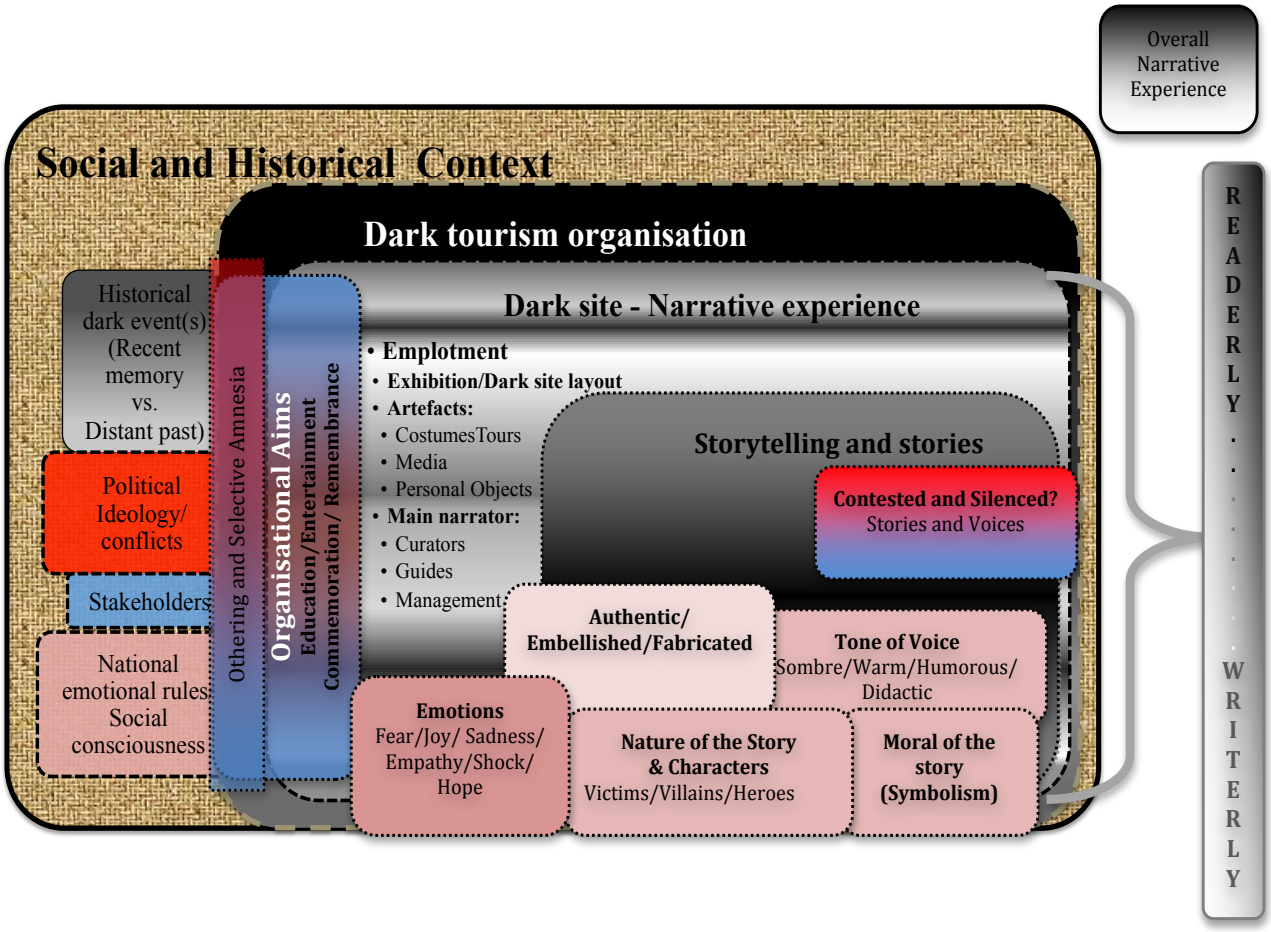


Figure 37. Dark tourism organising and storytelling dimensions model

The *Dark Tourism Organising and Storytelling Dimensions Model* consists of four nested dimensions. The outermost dimension is called the *Social and Historical Context,* which contains different elements of the heritage force field (Seaton 2001). The second inner dimension is the *Dark Tourism Organisation* in which organisational aims emerge. This is followed by the third dimension *Dark Site – Narrative Experience* in which the overall narrative experience emerges. The last and innermost dimension is the Storytelling *and Stories* adopted by the dark tourism

organisation at the dark tourism site. The *interplay* of these four dimensions and their constituting elements determines whether the overall experience and, in fact, the dark site is mainly Readerly (i.e., little room for independent visitation experience in interpretations and emotions) or Writerly (i.e., independent interpretative and emotional experience is possible/encouraged by the organisation) (Barthes, 1974). The aim of the model is to provide an outline of the constitutive elements of an overall narrative experience offered by the dark tourism organisation in the form of either Readerly or Writerly. The model is therefore a template in which patterns/relationships between these elements and dimensions can be suggested/observed. The nested model implies that an overall narrative experience takes shape in the broader social and historical context where the dark tourism organisation exists. Yet, to describe the nature of interaction between these four dimensions, the word *interplay* is chosen carefully remind the reader that sometimes an element that is nested deeper inside the template can become one of the major drivers behind the type of overall narrative experience offered by the site. An example in point is the painting (artefact) *Guernica*, which helped internationalise this atrocity during the Spanish Civil War unlike any other. It also afforded the Guernica Peace Museum a space in which they could generate a Writerly experience on war and peace. By reiterating the theoretical framework and findings of this study, the following paragraphs explore the model in relation to the interplay between these dimensions and the possible patterns between these constitutive elements.

The social and historical context where the dark tourism organisation exists constitutes the outermost dimension in the model. As explored in this study, the social and historical contexts of a society shape the emergence and evolution of dark tourism organisations as mediators between us and the past (Fineman 2001), the death and the living (Walter 2010), and the individual and collective self (Stone and Sharpley, 2013). When they set their organisational aims about the site in question, dark tourism organisations, whether they are established with a 'dark' purpose at heart (e.g., tour companies specializing in ghost tours, see Garcia 2012) or not (e.g., HRP, Patrimonio Nacional) therefore negotiate all the constituting elements of the social and historical context. This is why in the model, the organisational aims element as well as the dark tourism organisation as the second dimension of the

model have perforated borders that are adjacent to these constituting elements of the social and historical context. All these as well as the elements' colours denote the interplay among these elements and dimensions.

As demonstrated in this study, one of the most important elements within the social and historical context is the 'National emotional rules/Social consciousness' about death and human suffering. These are dynamic in nature, which is based foremost on the time (represented in the model in 'Historical dark event(s)' element) and power dimensions (represented in the model in 'Political Ideologies/conflicts' and 'Stakeholders' elements) of the heritage force field (Seaton 2001). Time creates specific affordances for organisational aims such as edutainment (e.g., The Tower of London; Hampton Court Palace), and education, commemoration and remembrance (e.g., the Holocaust Exhibition; the Guernica Peace Museum- also reconciliation). Power on the other hand relates to not only how much influence stakeholders exert over the dark tourism organisation's negotiation and pursuit of organisational aims, but also any overarching political ideology and/or political conflicts that can format the space in which stakeholders and dark tourism organisation interact (e.g. Silence pact and dismemory in Spain; Sensitivities around current monarchy/Royal Family in the UK). The interplay of stakeholders in this power framework implies the possible silencing of particular voices and the 'othering' of certain stakeholder groups in the organising of a dark site. Another consequence of the power dimension is that a possible dominant political ideology and more powerful stakeholders generate a space that makes members of society, including the dark tourism organisation, suffer from 'selective amnesia' (Radstone and Schwartz, 2010). This is a memory/storytelling state in which some past events and characters are purposefully forgotten in the officially/popularly presented stories. Because of these potential interplays, the element of othering and selective amnesia becomes an outcome and straddles the border between the social and historical context and the organisation, right above the organisational aims. The implication of this positioning is that the othering and selective amnesia can be used as a strategy by dark tourism organisations to exert power and control over contending stakeholders and their stories and practices (e.g., The Valley of the Fallen and Patrimonio Nacional's aim of silence and asepticism; the enclosure of the ruins of Belchite and Belchite Tourism's aim of "peace space"). More generally, and as argued in the beginning of the

discussion chapter, any set of organisational aims implies othering and selective amnesia no matter how miniscule or unintentional they are as an outcome.

Coming back to the point made about the *interplay,* the dark site, which sits nested inside the dark tourism organisation can also influence the social context they are in. This is because dark sites might have strong connotations with political ideologies that have dramatically influenced the social and historical context. In this respect, the site itself and the stories associated with the site becomes inseparable from the political ideology that can format the heritage field (Radstone and Schwartz, 2010). Given the findings of this study, it can be argued that The Valley of the Fallen as an important part of Franco's legacy in Spain is so powerful and controversial that it actually underpins, alongside the other aspects of this legacy the overarching political ideology of 'silence pact and dismemory' in today's Spain. This in turn underpins Patrimonio Nacional' *de facto* organisational aim of silence and asepticism at the site. Similarly, it is not easy to separate original and/or created sites about the Holocaust from the overarching liberal political ideology that obliterates fascism and its modern reincarnations. The Holocaust Exhibition therefore aims to educate about this aspect of human freedom and equality, alongside its aim of commemoration and remembrance.

As demonstrated in this study, dark tourism organisations organise history and/or memory in accordance with their aims and through different storytelling approaches and narratives, which mediates for visitors a sensemaking process about different dimensions of death and human suffering. Nevertheless, the outcome of 'othering and selective amnesia' within the given dynamics of the social and historical context imply a danger that the mediation dark tourism organisations provide to their visitors may be in fact partial and incomplete. Therefore, it is important to understand the social and historical context of the dark tourism organisation to ascertain the semiotics of the storytelling approach and narratives presented in a dark site. Before moving onto the third dimension of *Dark Site – Narrative Experience,* it is also important to reiterate the moderating effect of time over power. When history and tragic events are chronologically closer in time, there is a higher likelihood for the semiotics of the storytelling approach and narratives to be more open to the social and historical context and its overarching and contending ideologies. Nevertheless, it is always important to take into consideration how other

elements of the social and historical context can actually moderate the time effect. For example, an emergent political ideology might draw on events and characters in distant past to rally people behind them. In that case, time dimension might have the opposite effect.

The third dimension of the model pertains to the dark site itself and the overall narrative experience it provides to visitors. As demonstrated in this study, the overall narrative experience is achieved and conveyed at dark tourism sites by the use of emplotment and other tropes of meaning. The emplotment not just refers to generating a specific narrative for a story but also organising the site in distinctive ways towards a specific visitor experience that has a beginning, middle and end, and a moral. In this respect, the overall narrative includes the non-story aspects of the narrative/emplotment at dark tourism sites such as how the exhibition or site is laid out, the way artefacts (e.g., posters, videos, personal objects, letters or costumed interpretation amongst others) are produced and presented, and who the main narrator is (e.g., the management and/or curator via artefacts and stories presented; guides re-enacting stories and interacting with visitors and artefacts). As demonstrated in this study, dark tourism organisations make use of the physical spaces of the sites to devise a particular experience envisioned for visitors. Accordingly, the organisation might devise the exhibition in such a way that the visitors have to follow a particular historical-chronological and thematic path (e.g., the Holocaust Exhibition, the Guernica Peace Museum). The organisation might employ guided tours to take visitors around this path, especially if a dark site is a 'real place' where human suffering took place (e.g., the ruins of Old Belchite with the official tour guide). The decision on layout and narrative path is ultimately a management decision in which different departments/individuals are involved. In this respect, certain actors such as curators and guides might be given a level of poetic licence or the power to influence the storytelling approach within the site. This licence is given in accordance with organisational aims and resources (e.g., the ruins of Old Belchite and Belchite Tourism with very limited 'one-manager-guide' resources).

At this point, another possibility of *interplay* worth noting is the way certain organisational narrators can influence the overall narrative experience to the extent that the stated organisational aims and the overall narrative experience might seem

partially misaligned. Thanks to the Yeoman Warders' popularity as well as the autonomous status of the site from HRP, the Tower of London's curators and the Warders seem to have a poetic licence together to exhilarate visitors and deliver gory stories, which are perceived to be popularly demanded. At the same time, the Tower as a site offers many different historical facts, stories and artefacts in different parts without the type of interactive and exhilarating experience. Moreover, taking a private guided tour with a curator can imply a very different experience from the one in Yeoman's tours. As a result, a visitor might leave the site after having a lot fun but without being educated about many interesting but non-gory and non-dark facts about the Tower of London.

The model's innermost dimension is the *Storytelling and Stories*, which emphasises the centrality of these two aspects for the overall emotional (e.g., sadness, fun, shock) and action/learning (e.g., commemoration, edutainment) outcome sought by the dark tourism organisation for visitors. The model suggests that the main storytelling dimensions are the narrator's tone of voice (e.g., sombre, cheerful, aseptic), the nature of the story (e.g., tragic, comic, epic) and characters (e.g., villain, victim, hero), and the moral and symbolism of the story (e.g., commemoration, remembrance, understanding, forgiveness and reconciliation). The latter two elements, alongside emotions all interplay with each other and straddle all four dimensions of the model. The rationale of this positioning for these elements is explained in the following paragraphs.

The nature of story refers to the different types of stories constructed and told in and by organisations in terms of the different emotions they generate (Gabriel, 1999, pp199-200). To recapitulate, these are: Epic Stories, which refer to stories that "generate prize and enthusiasm [by focusing] on the achievements of heroes"; Comic stories generate amusement and mirth"; Tragic stories, which focus on "undeserved misfortune and suffering and generate feelings of compassion and fear"; and lastly Romantic stories, which refer mainly to love and are "associated with feelings of affection but also nostalgia or self-pity". All of these story types or "strong plots" (Czarniawska, 2008b, p165) are likely to be found at dark tourism sites in one form or another. Relatedly, the reason why this aspect straddles all four dimensions closely relates to the way social and historical context generates affordances for an organisation to adopt and adapt the stories along these strong plot lines (e.g., the

Holocaust as a tragic story in Western culture and historiography; the Spanish Civil War as a history/story that the 'Two Spains' try to mould into different plots and morals; Belchite as a tragic local story sheltered from the 'Two Spains'; The Tower of London as a source of comic and tragic stories of crime and punishment in medieval times).

As the findings of this study and the model suggests, different emotional responses can be evoked at dark tourism sites through storytelling and stories, which generally depends on the aims of the dark tourism organisation. For example, if an organisation wants the site to be focused mainly on commemoration and remembrance, then feelings such as empathy and compassion is expected/demanded from visitors (e.g., visitation rules in the Holocaust Exhibition and Begoña's house at Gernica Peace Museum). On the other hand, if the site is supposed to be fun, entertaining and educative, then more positive emotions are encouraged such as happiness, intrigue and fun (e.g., Hampton Court Palace and warm and lively storytelling). Regardless of what emotion are encouraged, as this study demonstrated these emotional outcomes are not only crucial for the overall narrative and hence visitors' dark tourism experience, but also closely related to the social and historical contexts that shape the national emotional rules and social consciousness about death and human suffering. This is the reason why emotions as a constitutive element straddles all four dimensions, and borders the elements of organisational aims and the nature of the story and characters in the model.

One important element that is shared within the *Dark Site - Overall Narrative* and the *Storytelling and Stories* is the authenticity of stories and artefacts in the site, and that of the site itself. In pursuit of their organisational aims and more importantly to generate the emotions that they desire to evoke in visitors, dark tourism organisations can make use of fabricated artefacts (e.g., the replica train carriage in the Holocaust Museum), specific layouts (e.g., particular use of dim lighting in the Tower of London for "old and dark" feel- (Head of Education Department. Conference, 24 February 2012), and inauthentic/embellished stories (e.g., Begoña's house; Yeoman's stories during the tour). As demonstrated in this study, the use of authentic/fabricated narrativised artefacts and stories do not necessarily imply ethical issues if one evaluates them in relation to the organisational aims and emotions elements that interplay with the elements of the social and historical contexts. In this

vein, this model brings forward a new and holistic perspective to understanding authenticity and ethics debate in dark tourism.

The remaining three elements in the storytelling and stories dimensions are the moral (symbolism) of stories, the tone of voice in stories, and the contested and silenced stories and voices. The moral (symbolism) of the story refers to the actionable and transformative message the organisation's storytelling approach and stories aim to transmit to visitors during and after their visit (e.g., the Tower of London and 'History is so far back in time, let's laugh about it while we learn!'; the Guernica Peace Museum and 'Look what happens when there is no peace! Let's strive to live in harmony'). The moral of the story is closely linked to the emotions and the nature of story, and they all straddle all four dimensions of the model. On the other hand, some visitors might realize during their visit that there are stories and voices that are contested and silenced in the dark tourism site. This element closely relates to the 'othering and selective amnesia' element that sits on top of the organisational aims. Depending on the social and historical context and visitors' pre-visit knowledge, some sites might have a palpable existence of contested and silenced stories and voices in contradistinction with the organisational aims (e.g., The Valley of the Fallen and the loud stakeholder space of 'Two Spains'; The Holocaust Exhibition and 'not enough on what is lost'; the Guernica Peace Museum and the ETA victims and perpetrators controversy). Last but not least, the tone of voice sits within the innermost dimension and reflects the emotions, strong plots and morals the organisation aims to deliver to visitors.

As the focus of this study is organising and storytelling in dark tourism, the model presents the overall narrative experience outcome along a spectrum of Readerly and Writerly. The Readerly-Writerly framework elegantly captures the possible outcomes of the interplay between the constituting elements within and across the model's four dimensions. In this vein, some nested dimensions and elements within could have a bigger impact on the final outcome. In the model, these elements such as artefacts including the site itself, emotions, and nature of story (history) therefore straddle some or all dimensions. Nevertheless, the social and historical elements depict the space in which many society-level organising and storytelling factors are re-enacted, negotiated, and challenged, and thus shape the organisational aim and goals. These factors include among others the controversies

surrounding the site and its history, the stakeholders involved with these controversies, the national emotional rules and social consciousness, and the process and outcome of 'othering' and selective amnesia in society and by the dark tourism organisation. Other elements in inner dimensions such as the tone of voice and the artefacts used also have an influence in the way visitors feel at dark tourism sites. They guide visitors into a Readerly or Writerly overall narrative experience. With this in mind, the two different experiences at dark tourism sites can be characterised as follows:

1. Readerly experience: Stories are less open to interpretation and contestation. There are consistent "strong plots", stories, and narrativised artefacts. The site is thus monosemic in terms of the tone and theme of stories. There is a general consensus as to who the story characters are. Visitors are consequently guided to feel and act in very specific ways in the face of the storytelling approach, stories and narrativised artefacts presented. Display of emotions and actions that contradict the overall theme and moral of the site is discouraged, and generally monitored by fellow visitors.

2. Writerly experience: Stories are open to interpretation and contestation. There are 'strong plots', stories, and narrativised artefacts that invite polysemy. Visitors are presented with 'something' to gaze upon and experience. Nevertheless, they are left to their own devises to make sense of it. They are given the encouragement to decide which way they want to feel and even behave inside the site and after their visitation.

As discussed above, the *Dark Tourism Organisational and Storytelling Dimensions Model* is aimed as a template that demonstrates the different dimensions and their constituting elements in which dark tourism organisations emerge and operate to generate an overall narrative experience for their visitors. This template can be useful for future studies on organising and storytelling in dark tourism. It can also help heritage and dark tourism practitioners to reflect on the challenges and opportunities they face. Furthermore, the model with its underlying study is a unique

attempt at demonstrating the integral role storytelling and narratives have in dark tourism. The history is never enough on its own. It is after all storytelling, stories and narrativised artefacts that organise meaning in a dark tourism site and emotionally charge its visitors in different ways. The model has been developed with dark tourism organisations in mind. Nevertheless, it can be useful and adaptable for the study of organising and storytelling in any kind of organisation because it draws on the extant literature on organising, organisations and storytelling.

Although this model is useful to identify and understand the organising and storytelling dimensions of dark tourism, it does have its own limitations. The model shows the different dimensions and constituting elements to be taken into account when considering how dark tourism organisations provide an overall narrative experience to visitors in the sites under their management. In this respect, the model does not for instance offer a formula to ascertain whether and how dark tourism organisations actually succeed in fulfilling their organisational aims such as evoking particular emotions in visitors. As this study was concerned with the much less studied supply side of dark tourism in terms of organising and storytelling, the focus on visitor experiences were limited to the direct observations of visitors and to the self-experience of the overall narrative as a researcher who strived for reflexivity and neutrality during data collection. Accordingly, the presented model for instance does not make any distinction between possible audiences in relation to the overall narrative experience (e.g., between children and adults).

Another limitation of the model is that it is a template that does not specify the exact relationships among constituting elements within each dimension. These exact relationships are case specific as demonstrated in this study. Yet, drawing on the similarities among them, the model reminds the reader that the dimensions and constitutive elements are in a constant *interplay,* and thus equal attention should be paid to these in understanding the storytelling and narrative dynamics in dark tourism. Last but not least, the model does not explain what happens when there is no dark tourism organisation and there is no organisational aim. However, the case study on the ruins of Belchite vividly demonstrated an answer to this- namely, a polysemic space and a place in which actors ranging from sheep to adult movie cast co-exist to pursue their own agendas!

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The concluding chapter recaps the thesis' findings in relation to its main research question and objectives to provide a picture of the study's theoretical and empirical contributions to and implications for the organising and storytelling, and dark tourism fields. After this, the identified limitations of the study are discussed, followed by some recommendations for future studies. The thesis ends with a brief personal reflexive comment.

Conclusions and contributions of the study

The main research question of this study was '*how and why dark tourism organisations create, organise and convey particular stories in sites under their management'*. The main finding of this study with regard to '*how and why ... stories*' in dark sites was that storytelling and narratives constitute the essence of visitor experiences and are therefore a vital part of the product that is offered in dark tourism sites. A history of the dark event(s) in question is not sufficient as a product in a dark site. Instead, an overall product, constituted by *particular stories* within and an overall narrative for the dark site with a specific moral and symbolism is needed to generate powerful emotions and meanings for visitors. Engaging visitors emotionally throughout their visits to dark sites was found to be of upmost importance to dark tourism organisations because emotions such as joy, shock, sadness, and empathy are closely associated with the pursuit of organisational aims, which may be as diverse as entertainment, education, commemoration, reconciliation, and so on. As demonstrated, these emotions and meanings are communicated and enriched through different narrative techniques and artefacts, including storytelling by guides, brochures, signs, costumed interpretation, real and fictional artefacts related to stories, website information, regulations on visitor behaviour, and so on. It was also observed that the broader social and historical context of each dark tourism site shape the organisational aims and hence the *particular stories*, and more importantly the storytelling approach and the overall narrative each dark site organisation offers to its visitors. These contexts are thus observed to influence the dynamics of dark tourism organising and organisations in particular ways.

While the main finding applies to all six cases explored in this study, the specific research objectives demonstrated the variations in terms of the overall narrative experience offered to visitors. The first objective of exploring how stories and storytelling feature in the management of dark tourism sites directed the study to the important role organisational aims play in the observed similarities and differences in the type of stories and storytelling approaches used in sites. The most telling findings for this link came from The Valley of the Fallen case in which its managing organisation Patrimonio Nacional has a *de facto* organisational aim of keeping the site silent and emotionally aseptic, which makes the site barren in terms of *in situ* stories and storytelling. On the other hand, other organisational aims such as education and entertainment, and commemoration, remembrance and/or reconciliation were observed to have led to very different stories and storytelling approaches in different sites. Accordingly, the second research objective explored how dark tourism organisations set their aims and goals; and how these relate to broader social and historical context and shape the nature of the stories found in dark tourism sites. In this exploration, the effects of time and power dimensions in the social and historical context, and how they shaped the national emotional rules and social consciousness about death and human suffering were observed. In the *Dark Tourism Organising and Storytelling Dimensions Model*, these elements are consequently placed over the organisational aims, which are in turn linked to the storytelling and stories found in each site.

The organising and storytelling approach adopted in this study aimed at understanding stakeholder dynamics in the social and historical context of dark tourism sites. Different stakeholders cooperate or compete in voicing and promoting their own stories associated with dark history in question. Accordingly, the third research objective explored if and how stakeholders influence the organising and storytelling approach at dark tourism sites, or alternatively how particular sites and/or narratives are contested or controversial. The results demonstrated the importance of strong consensus in society about the national emotional rules and social consciousness about death and human suffering. In the cases where such a consensus lacked, it was either impossible to tell stories (e.g., The Valley of the Fallen) or the stories had to be told in a certain reconciliatory way (e.g., Old Belchite and the Guernica Peace Museum). On the other hand, a strong consensus in a society

made it easy for the organisation to pursue an organisational aim in line with this consensus and thus without much controversy (e.g., Hampton Court Palace; the Holocaust Exhibition; the Tower of London). This was despite the fact that what was offered in the site could be easily criticised (e.g., ethics of trivialising death and human suffering in the Tower of London; lack of equal insight into or perhaps a romantic story about what is destroyed/lost in the Holocaust). With these findings, it was also demonstrated that each dark site with the organisation behind actually represents an instance of 'othering and selective amnesia', shaped by the dominant voices of the social and historical context.

As part of the third objective, the study also explored how the dark tourism organisations perceived visitor motivations as another stakeholder aspect. The organisations got their cues on visitor motivations from the social and historical context, and tried to cater for any motivation as long as they represented the popular or strong plots about the history in question. There was one significant exception to this- namely, The Valley of the Fallen, which coped with the chaotic national emotional rules and contradictory stakeholder/visitor motivations by silencing everybody and almost every story *in situ*. It was also found that dark tourism organisations cater for in special interpretative spaces some of the perceived visitor motivations that are not exactly aligned with the organisational aims. The evening time tours of ghosts (Hampton Court Palace) and grisly details (the ruins of Old Belchite) represent such interpretative spaces. On the other hand, the Yeoman Warder tours and the death and punishment exhibition are important narrative experiences in the Tower of London that contributes to the overall Writerly experience, especially when one considers other non-gory and non-dark storytelling and stories offered in the site.

The social and historical context and the stakeholders within are the source of challenges and opportunities when the dark tourism organisation interprets the past and takes into account the possibility of contestation or controversy. Identifying these and understanding their relationship with the storytelling and stories found in each site was the fourth objective of this study. This exploration pointed to the necessity of taking into account the strong plots and national emotional rules in the social and historical context, and presenting stories and narrativised artefacts in line with the organisational aims and the overall narrative experience desired for visitors.

Again, The Valley of the Fallen emerged as the extreme case in which the stakeholder dynamics generate a silent and aseptic storytelling and stories outcome as a solution.

The fifth objective aimed at exploring the different semiotics at dark tourism sites in relation to stories and artefacts as well as the overall narrative experience presented. The findings at each site was synthesised with the memorialisation outcomes as per Foote (1997) and whether a site is polysemic or monosemic in terms of emotions and meanings afforded/guided *in situ*. These were informed by the specific affordances and limitations the social and historical context provided to the dark tourism organisation. A novel aspect of the study on organising and storytelling in dark tourism was the conjecture that the narratives provided by dark tourism organisations vary in terms of not only the stories' themes (e.g., tragic, comic, epic, etc) but also in terms of the freedom they allow the visitor to draw his/her own meanings and emotions from the overall narrative product on offer. The sixth objective of this study therefore aimed at adapting Barthes' (1974) distinction of literary texts-namely, Readerly vs. Writerly for the exploration of dark tourism site experiences offered in each site. More specifically, the Readerly vs. Writerly framework helped synthesise the study's findings on the different dimensions and elements of organising and storytelling in dark tourism sites with visitor experiences offered. In this vein, the *Dark Tourism Organising and Storytelling Dimensions Model* presents this framework as the two possible narrative experience outcomes of organising and storytelling in dark tourism sites, each offering different degrees of openness in terms of visitor emotions and interpretations.

Last but not least, informed by the theoretical and empirical synthesis achieved in the discussion, the *Dark Tourism Organising and Storytelling Dimensions Model* was created and explained. This model intends to enhance the understanding of organising and storytelling in dark tourism and pave way for further scholarly research in this area. This model also offers reflective insights to practitioners in relation to the different dimensions and elements that interplay in the shaping of visitors' dark tourism experiences.

After the recap of the findings in relation to the main research question and objectives, the conclusion now turns to the scholarly contributions of the study and their implication for both theory and research in the fields of organisation studies and

dark tourism. As synthesised in the discussion and the model proposed, this study has approached dark tourism experience from a management perspective. In doing so, it conceptualised the creation and management of a dark tourism site as a matter of organising and storytelling by not just the dark tourism organisation itself but also its stakeholders. Relatedly, the study shows how society deals with a tragic history by giving 'permission' to certain organisations to make sense, mediate, organise and re-convey that past via storytelling and narratives not just to visitors but also to society (Walter 2009; Stone 2012).

In the dark tourism literature, stories in and about dark tourism sites have been focussed mainly as an outcome that has implications for questions of interpretation, authenticity, and ethics, among others (Lennon and Foyle, 2000; Strange and Kempa, 2003; Wight, 2006). Instead of taking storytelling and stories found in dark sites as a given for a critical/normative analysis, this study has adapted the organising and storytelling approach of organisation studies to the study of supply side organisations in dark tourism, especially in relation to the storytelling and narratives' implication for the overall visitor experience (Sharpley and Stone 2009, p250). This is because storytelling and narratives are theorised and evidenced as an essential process/tool in sensemaking and memory making in individuals, organisations, and society (Polkinghorne, 1988; Weick, 1995; Czarniawska, 1997; Aguilar, 2008).

Such an adaption allowed the study to unpack how what visitors experience in a dark site comes to be created, accepted and re-enacted, and challenged through the ongoing story and discourse interactions between the organisation and its stakeholders. In this respect, the study and the model also draws on the theory of organisation as open systems and empirically contributes to it from a dark tourism perspective (Scott and Davis 2013). In its theorization of the environment where it exists as open systems, the study and the model builds on the previous models of dark tourism such as Seaton's (2001) and Stone's (2006). Yet it goes beyond them first by demonstrating how the constituting and interplaying elements of the social and historical context make all cases of dark tourism organisation a case of 'othering and selective amnesia' (Seaton, 2009), irrespective of their storytelling and narratives and thus shade of darkness. This means that the shade of darkness does not necessarily determine the answers to the questions of authenticity, supply

purposefulness, organisational orientation, and so on (Stone 2006). In doing so, the study and the model therefore recast the questions of interpretation, authenticity and others in the social and historical context. What this implies is that these issues have within the social and historical context corresponding popular or contending answers that the dark tourism organisation actually mediates into a specific storytelling approach and the overall narrative experience. The political ideology/conflict, stakeholders, historical event (time), and national emotional rules/social consciousness are therefore the elements that unpack the time and power 'boxes' of Seaton's (2001) heritage force field figure.

Nevertheless, the study and the model do not present a deterministic picture of dark tourism organising and organisations. On the contrary, both demonstrate that individuals, groups, particular stories and artefacts, and the site and its particular history can have meaningful influence on the way the social and historical context creates affordances to the dark tourism organising and organisations. It is because of this, the model has perforated borders and elements that straddle different dimensions.

In addition to the organising and storytelling framework it has brought to the dark tourism field, the study and the model also provide insights into emotions, an area which has been less well explored in dark tourism field (Tarlow 1998). The study and the model reiterate the centrality of emotion alongside meaning in the storytelling processes and outcomes in individuals, organisations and society (Gabriel 1998; Fineman 2001). It also demonstrates how national emotional rules and social consciousness about death and human suffering, and their expected manifestations at individual/visitor level are integral to the organising and storytelling processes and the overall visitor experience in dark tourism sites. Last but not least, the study and the model introduces the Readerly and Writerly experience as a novel way of capturing the outcomes of storytelling and narrative in dark tourism sites on visitor experience.

Leaving the scholarly contribution aside, the study and the model aim to make contributions at a practical level. The findings of this study and the *Dark Tourism Organisation and Storytelling Dimensions Model* may prove useful to professionals and stakeholders in dark tourism and related areas. These include dark site managers and employees, museum curators, policy makers, victim associations, tour guides,

marketing professionals, and any other group that wants to learn more about organising and storytelling and how to put any storytelling approach, for any aim, to practice. Despite the new technological advances present in our current society, nothing can beat the power of a good story and storytelling (Monarth, 2014) for any given action, from selling an item of clothing to marketing an experience; stories are what can determine their success (Monarth, 2014). And, this is "no surprise [because] we humans have been communicating through stories for upwards of 20,000 years, back when our flat screens were cave walls" (ibid). In sum, stories have been part of our evolutionary past, and are thus very much an integral part of our lives today.

Limitations and recommendations for future research

Consideration needs to be given to the limitations that were encountered in this research, mainly those related to the evaluation criteria of credibility, transferability and dependability (Bryman 2008). In terms of the credibility of the study (parallel to internal validity), the main way to ensure the believability of the findings is for a researcher to conduct a genuine research, present findings in an analytical manner, and link them to the aims and objectives of the particular study. These are essential for credible research design, practice and outcome. They informed the research process of this study. Moreover, thanks to using several triangulated methods-namely, *in situ* observation, interviews, and document analysis, the credibility of research data and findings was augmented. When it comes to the transferability of findings to other cases (parallel to external validity), the study has explored how and why certain stories are used (or not) at three case studies in each of the two countries studied. It is therefore highly probable for instance to come up with findings similar to this study's when one explores other (potential) dark tourism sites in regional and/or national level in Spain. Similar findings to those found in this study regarding the UK's lighter and darker dark tourism sites are expected in the UK.

However, going beyond these two countries, one should be more cautious in the transferability of the research findings to specific cases since dark tourism sites in other social and historical contexts would have their own historical, managerial and interpretative challenges and opportunities. It is therefore important to use the model advanced in this study as a template of exploration. Nonetheless, the findings of this

study point to the notion of controversy and dissonant heritage when looking at the history of dark site in question. The enduring historical controversies stirred up by the Spanish Civil War are a constant source of political conflict among different stakeholders in Spain and affect the way dark sites are managed. On the other hand, the less controversial qualities of the UK's social and historical context allow dark tourism organisations to operate in a less challenging environment. Thus, studies on such sites of historical controversy and non-controversy can lead to findings that are similar to the conclusions of this study. Similarly, in sites where very distant gory episodes in history exist, one can expect findings similar to those in the light dark tourism cases explored in this study with the condition that such distant past is not glorified by strong political ideologies.

Regarding dependability of the research (i.e., repeating the research with findings similar to the current findings), it can be argued that the evolution of current social and historical context would surely affect the findings of a similar study conducted in the same sites or others managed by the same dark tourism organisations. For instance, in the next 20 years, what would happen to the 'Two Spains'? Would national emotional rules and social consciousness in the next century allow a more Readerly experience in the Holocaust related sites beyond sanctification? It is hard to predict answers to such questions. However, this does not compromise the overall "trustworthiness" (Bryman, 2008, p30) of this study since the study aimed to explore the dynamics behind creating and conveying certain stories at dark tourism sites found in specific contexts and specific times, even though these latter concepts are open to changes in the future. Therefore, the specific findings are open to change in the future thanks to changes within the constituting and straddling elements of different dimensions. Yet, the model advanced in this study captures the most important elements and dimensions in the generation of an overall narrative experience for dark tourism sites, irrespective of their shades of dark and where in time and geography they are found.

For future research in Spain, it would be useful to focus on the following important dark sites, the Almudena Cemetery in Madrid and the Torrero cemetery in Zaragoza, which coincidentally contains a small replica of The Valley of the Fallen (including the cross). After The Valley of the Fallen, these are two biggest and most important cemeteries related to the Spanish Civil War. Both cemeteries have to deal

with many visitors who come to these places to see the architecture and engage in other activities such as vigils and tributes for some but not all of the fallen. Like the ruins of Belchite before 2013, none of these graveyards are touristically developed and thus continue to be an open space for different actions, interpretations, and emotions. Furthermore, studies about any aspect of dark tourism and dark tourism sites in Spain are rare, especially about those sites that are related to the Spanish Civil War. It is for this reason this study can act as an inspiration for future researchers of dark tourism in Spain and as an encouragement for such studies. Despite the general silence in the country, it is necessary to continue this line of research and cast a light on the issues related to the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath, and the wounds both have opened in Spanish society. Such studies will further reveal the dynamics of remembrance, contestation and reconciliation in Spain, and their effects on existing and potential dark tourism sites in this country.

Also, the two aforementioned Spanish sites could be compared, should future researchers aim for a wider cross-national perspective, to the Amos Cemetery in Bristol that has been recently touristically developed. This cemetery now offers guided day and night tours for visitors. These tours dwell on "the Gothic gloom and ethereal beauty of Bristol's 'Necropolis'" (Arnosvale, 2014). Also, the cemetery management offers school trips for children as well as the possibility of having a wedding ceremony and reception within the cemetery grounds. Similar research methods to those used in this study would prove useful to find how and why the same type of potential dark tourism sites, i.e., cemeteries, is managed differently/similarly in two different countries.

Certainly, more research on the topic of storytelling in dark tourism needs to be undertaken with more case studies from different parts of the world to contribute to the theoretical and empirical foundations presented in this study. This study and the model contribute to the literature on dark tourism by incorporating storytelling and narratives into the generation of dark tourism experience for visitors. In this respect, this study does not report on this aspect via surveys on or interviews with visitors but rather from the researcher's own experience of the sites as a researcher and an ordinary visitor. The study also reports on the visitors' motivations/experiences as perceived by the key interviewees associated with the management of each dark tourism site. The lack of direct visitor voice as a

stakeholder might be seen as a possible limitation of the study. However, this study set out to explore how and why stories were the way they were at dark tourism sites according to the organisation behind these sites, including their perceptions about the visitor motivations/experiences at these sites. Moreover, the study and the model provides a framework to understand visitor motivations/experiences by focussing on national emotional rules and social consciousness (strong plots) about death and human suffering as well as emotions at dark tourism sites. Future studies that focus directly on visitors' motivations can benefit from these storytelling and emotion aspects.

Even though "engaging with the past can certainly become divisive" (Hage, 2006, p51) we are likely to continue doing so as it "offers a powerful venue for establishing and affirming social belonging" (ibid). By mediating the past for us, dark tourism organisations give us a chance to make sense of tragic events in particular ways and understand human suffering through an emotional connection with the stories they convey. In doing so, they help us re-enact our individual and social identities in relation to the times and societies to which we belong and shape. Apart from this specific role they have in dark tourism, stories and storytelling are certainly relevant to our lives because "they entertain and they teach; they help us both enjoy life and endure it [and] after nourishment, shelter and companionship, stories are the thing we need most in the world" (Pullman, 2008). A "world [that] is shaped by two things — stories told and the memories they leave behind." (Nazarian, 2002, n.p). Admittedly, this is also what dark tourism organisations hope to achieve: to leave a lasting memory on visitors, through the organised and deliberate use of particular stories and narratives at dark tourism sites.

Final personal reflexive commentary

As this thesis comes to a close, some final words come to my mind. The same words I heard in a Spanish TV documentary years ago, those that ignited my curiosity to learn more about the Spanish Civil War and perhaps ultimately inspired me to pursue a Ph.D. in organisations and dark tourism. The last words of a young girl, nineteen years of age, written in a letter to her mother the day before being executed for her political ideas and ideals. She wrote a heartfelt letter, perhaps as *ars*

moriendi[28] and finished it off with the following words: "Do not let my name be erased from history"[29]. Her name was Julia Conesa. Julia, my grandmother's namesake, was executed by a firing squad against one of the walls in the Almudena Cemetery in Madrid on the early hours of the 5th of August 1939 along with twelve other girls (Machado, 2005). These girls all belonged to different youth movements that were against Franco's new regime. Nine of them were under the age of 20; the oldest was just 23. They would later be known as 'The Thirteen Roses' ('Las Trece Rosas' in Spanish) and their deaths would become, along with Julia Conesa's last words, a symbol of the nonsensical barbarity of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. These girls sadly "embodied a terrible paradox: while they left an indelible trace in history, they were virtually erased from it" (Ferrero, 2011, n.p).

Learning about these girls' suffering, and with Julia Conesa's last plea - not to be forgotten- made me question in my mind my own knowledge of the Spanish Civil War, only to realise that it was rather limited, especially at an emotional level. These young girls died because of the consequences of a barbaric conflict that happened in my own country not that long ago. And I found myself having no significant and comprehensive understanding of its origins, magnitude and outcomes. As it has been mentioned in this thesis before, the education regarding the Spanish Civil War in Spanish schools is far from adequate and leaves children with limited information about it, as it was my case. This is information they cannot get at home either, as there is still, even after decades, a widespread reticence to speak about the Spanish Civil War, even in the comfort of the home because 'you never know who might be listening'. It was after the realisation of my lack of knowledge that I took on board the challenge to learn more about the conflict and the previously mentioned concomitant silence in Spanish society about anything related to the Civil War. Whilst I was reading and learning more about the war and the many sites of atrocities (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005) around Spain (such as Old Belchite), some questions came to my mind: what happened to those places where tragic events happened? And, could tourism, specifically dark tourism be the answer to avoid those who suffered be forgotten?

[28] *Ars moriendi* refers to a medieval concept meaning the 'art of dying' or preparation of the soul for death in Catholic belief (NewWorldEncyclopedia, 2013)
[29] See Appendix 4 for the full-translated Julia Conesa's final letter and her picture.

With all this in mind, perhaps it was only natural I would end up combining dark tourism, the Spanish Civil War and related dark sites in my research. It was after living in the UK for sometime that I realised how different the approaches to tragic events, mainly those in distant past, are in this country as compared to Spain. This is how the idea for the Ph.D. started to develop, one that has now come to completion. As a result, this research study has made me understand that in order to avoid personal stories, tragic stories and terrible events being obliterated from history and/or our collective and social mind, we need institutions that make sure such a forgetting or worse obliteration do not happen. As for Julia Conesa's final wish, a plaque was placed on the wall where she died in remembrance of her and the other girls that were executed. This plaque has the following inscription: "The young girls named The Thirteen Roses gave their lives here, for freedom and democracy on the 5th of August 1939" (EuropaPress, 2009). This wall, the plaque, the stories of each girl and of their tragic and untimely deaths have become not only a memorial but also a dark tourism attraction in its own right and the topic of numerous books, documentaries and even a movie of the same name. What is more, every day, different people visit the wall in the Almudena Cemetery. Some visitors leave flowers and even soft toys (perhaps reflecting how young some of the girls were) in memory of 'The Thirteen Roses' (Machado, 2005) while others take pictures of the plaque and the wall, even posing standing in front of it (ibid) as the girls would have done before being executed by the firing squad. Regardless of the motives that drive this type of tourism, the truth is that as long as visitors come to this place and learn from these girls' stories, their names and their suffering will not fall into oblivion. For me, this confirmed the power of stories. What is more, and bearing in mind what I have learned from this study, some questions remain: Who narrativised the deaths of this girls and how? Would it be possible to create a museum, exhibition solely dedicated to their memory and/or perhaps to the memory of the many victims of the Spanish Civil War, from both sides of the conflict, under a single narrative? A place with no villains and no heroes, only victims and their voices. This could possibly be the beginning of a new research journey for me and surely yet another small step, like the one taken in the ruins of Old Belchite towards reconciliation between the 'Two-Spains'.

“To finish is sadness to a writer - a little death. He puts the last word down and it is done. But it isn't really done. The story goes on and leaves the writer behind, for no story is ever done” (Steinbeck, 1969)

References

A

Abbot, H. P. (2002). *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. [2nd edition] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Abbott, G. (2003). *A Beefeater's Grisly Guide To The Tower of London*. Lancashire, Hendon Publishing Company.

ABC. (2012). La devastación de Guernica en imagenes [Online]. ABC. 24th of April. Available from: http://www.abc.es/fotos-abc/20120424/devastacion-guernica-imagenes-97464.html [Accessed 14 December 2012]

Adams, J., Khan, H. T. A., Raeside, R., & White, D. (2007). *Research methods for graduate business and social science students*. New Delhi: Response Books.

ADVF. (2014). Email Newsletter: Nuevas fotos dentro del Valle. December 13 2014.

Aguilar, F.P. (1996). *Memory and Amnesia: the role of the Spanish Civil War in the transition to democracy*. (Translated by Oakley, M., 2002) London: Berghahn Books.

Aguilar, F.P. (2008). *Politicas de la memoria y memorias de a politica*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Antoniadou, M. (n.d). The role of emotions and storytelling in Cypriot public organizations [Online] Available from: www.ribm.mmu.ac.uk/.../Antoniadou,%20Marilena.pdf [Accessed April 2012]

Aparicio, S. (2009). Especiales: La dictadura del Terror [Online] *El Mundo*. Available from http://www.elmundo.es/eta/historia/atentados.html [Accessed 13 May 2013]

Arnos Vale. (2014). Arnos Vale, A place to remember [Online] Available from: http://www.arnosvale.org.uk [Accessed 2 February 2014]

Ashworth, G.J. (2003). Heritage, identities and places: for tourists and host communities. In: Singh, S., D.J.Timothy & R.K.Dowling (eds) *Tourism in destination communities, pp*79-97

Ashworth, G. J. (2004). 'Tourism and the heritage of atrocity: Managing the heritage of South African apartheid for entertainment'. In: Singh, T, V. (Ed) (2004) *New horizons in Tourism: strange experiences and stranger practices*. Oxfordshire: CABI publishing, chapter 8. pp95-108.

Ashworth, G, J. and Hartmann, R. (2005). *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited. The management of sites of atrocities for tourism*. London: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Astorga, V, M. (n.d). Belchite el nuevo pueblo nacido a la sombra de unas gloriosas ruinas [Online]. *De las artes – Gobierno de Aragon*. Available from: http://www.aragon.es/estaticos/GobiernoAragon/Departamentos/PoliticaTerritorialJusticiaInterior/Documentos/docs/Areas/Información%20territorial/Publicaciones/Coleccion_Territorio/Comarca%20Belchite/Belchite_III_nuevoPueblo.pdf [Accessed 6 October 2011]

At Large. (2012). The National Holocaust Exhibition, Imperial War Museum, London [Online] Available from: http://www.atlarge.co.uk/index.php?/holocaust-exhibition/ [Accessed 12 May 2012]

Ayuntamiento de Belchite (n.d). *Belchite Pueblo Viejo*. [Leaflet]

Azariadis, M. (n.d). 'Recognising the researcher's voice'. [Online] University of Western Australia. Available from: http://hive.library.uwa.edu.au/hive/hive.cgi/zip/218293/html/pop_a1recog.html [Accessed 23 March 2014]

Aznar, Y. (2004). *el Guernica*. Madrid: Edilupa Ediciones, S. L.

B

Bal, P.M; Butterman, S.O and Bakker, B.A. (2011). 'The Influence of Fictional Narrative Experience on Work Outcomes: A conceptual Analysis and Research Model'. *Review of General Psychology*. Volume 15 (Issue 4), pp361-370.

Bal, P.M and Veltkamp, M. (2013). 'How Does Fiction Reading Influence Empathy? An Experimental Investigation on the Role of Emotional Transportation'. *PLoS ONE*. Volume 8 (Issue 1), pp1-12.

Barhtes, R. (1942). The World of Wrestling. In: Alexander, J. C., & Seidman, S. *Culture and society: Contemporary debates*. [1990 Edition]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp81-94.

Barthes, R. (1973). *Mythologies*. London: Paladin Books.

Barthes, R. (1974). *S/Z* (Translated by Miller, R.). Gateshead: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Barthes, R. (1980). *The Pleasure of the Text*. London: Hill & Wang.

Bardgett, S. (2000). The Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum [Online] News of Museum History. Available from: http://archive.iwm.org.uk/upload/pdf/hol_bardgett.pdf [Accessed 3 June 2014]

Bardgett, S. (2004). 'The Depiction of the Holocaust at the Imperial War Museum since 1961'. *Journal of Israeli History*, Volume 23(Issue 1), pp146-156.

Baroja, P. (1951). *Miseries of War*. [2006 Edition] Madrid: Editorial Caro Raggio.

Barry, M and Parry, K. (2013). 'Narrative, power and employee voice'. In: *Power and and employment relations: a tribute to Werner Nienhusen*. Munich: Rainer Hampp Verlag. pp31-38.

Basu, P. (1997). *Narratives in a Landscape: Monuments and Memories of the Sutherland Clearances*, MSc dissertation, University College London.

Bateman, H; Harris, E and McAdam, K. (2006). 'Heritage attraction', In: *Dictionary of leisure, travel and tourism* [3rd edition] London, A & C Black Publishers Ltd.

BBC. (2003). Palace 'ghost' caught on camera. [Online] *BBC* (Last updated 19th December 2003 at 19.29pm). Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/cbbcnews/hi/uk/newsid_3335000/3335321.stm [Accessed 7 July 2011]

Beevor, T. (2006). *The Battle for Spain. The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*. London: Orion Publishing Group.

Belchite Turismo, (2014). Visitas guiadas diurnas. [Online] Available from: http://www.belchiteturismo.com/visitas-guiadas-diurnas/ [Accessed 3 September 2014]

Bellotti, F., Berta, C., De Gloria, A., & Margarone, M. (2002). User testing a hypermedia tour guide. *IEEE Pervasive Computing* Voume 1(Issue 2), pp33-41.

Bird, R. G. (2013). Place Identities in the Normandy landscape of war. Touring the Canadian sites of memory. In: White, L., & Frew, E. (2013). *Dark tourism and place identity: managing and interpreting dark places* (Vol. 37). Routledge.

Blaikie, N. (2000). *Designing Social Research*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Blom, T. (2000). 'Morbid Tourism: A postmodern Market Niche with an example from Althorp'. *Norwegian Journal of Geogrpahy*. Volume 54 (Issue 1), pp29-36.

BOE. (2007). Boe numero 310. 27 de Diciembre 2007. Agencia Estatal Boletin Oficial del Estado.

Boje, D. M. (1991). 'The storytelling organization: A study of story performance in an office-supply firm'. *Administrative science quarterly*, Volume 36, pp106-126.

Boje, D. M. (1995). 'Stories of the storytelling organization: A postmodern analysis of Disney as "Tamara-Land"'. *Academy of Management Journal*, Volume 38 (Issue 4), pp997-1035.

Boje, D. (1998). 'Nike, Greek goddess of victory or cruelty? Woman stories of Asian factory life'. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Volume 11 (Issue 6), pp461-480.

Boje, D. (2001). *Narrative Methods for Organization and Communication Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Boje, D. (2007). 'From Wilda to Disney. Living stories in family and organization Research'. In: Landinin, J (Ed) (2007) *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology*. London: Sage Publications.

Boje, D., Luhman, T.J and Baack, E.D. (1999). 'Stories and Encounter between Storytelling Organizations'. *Journal of Management Inquiry*. Volume 8 (Issue 4), pp340-360.

Boje, D; Driver, M and Cai, Y. (2005). 'Fiction and Humor in Transforming Mcdonald's narrative strategies.' *Culture and Organization*. Volume 11 (Issue 3), pp195-208.

Bone, K. (n d). Hidden Treasure-Historical Truth. Haunting The Tower of London [Online] Available from: http://static.squarespace.com/static/52e70cdae4b062fc0c5fdf4c/t/52e9baee4b09733ce1d74d1/1391369134111/HiddenTreasure14HaunngtheTowerofLondon.pdf [Accessed 13 May 2012]

Boorstin, D. J. (1964) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. [2012 Edition] New York: Atheneum.

Borman, S. (2011). Secret's of Henry VIII palaces – Hampton Court Palace (2013) [DVD]

Bowman, M.S and Pezzullo, P C. (2009). 'What's so 'Dark' about 'Dark Tourism'?: Death, Tours, and Performance'. *Tourist Studies*. Volume 9 (Issue 1), pp187-202.

Buckley-Zistel, S. (2006). 'Remembering to Forget: Chosen Amnesia as a Strategy for
Local Coexistence in Post-Genocide Rwanda'. *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute.* Volume 76 (Issue 2), pp131-150.

Burgess, R. (1984). *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Brisbane, M & Wood, J. (1996). *A Future for Our Past: An introduction to heritage studies*. London: English Heritage.

Bristow, R.S. and Newman, M. (2004). 'Myth vs. fact: an exploration of fright tourism', in: Bricker, K. (Ed): *Proceedings of the 2004 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium*, pp215–221, Gen. Tech. Rep. NE-326, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Northeastern Research Station, Newtown Square, PA.

Bruner, J. (1991). 'The Narrative construction of reality'. *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 18 (Issue 1), pp1-21.

Bryon, J. (2012). Tour Guides as Storytellers. From Selling to Sharing, *Scandinavian*

Journal of Hospitality and Tourism. Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 27–43.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods* [3rd Edition]. Oxford: Oxford University Press

C

Cambridge Dictionary (2013). Empathy. [Online] Available from: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/empathy [Accessed 4 April 2013]

Campbell, C. (1987). *The romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism*. Oxford. London: Blackwell.

Casanova, J. (2013). *A short history of the Spanish Civil War*. London: I.B.Tauris Co Ltd

Cast, P.C. (2007). *Betrayed (House of night 2)*. United States: St. Martin's Griffin Press.

Chacon, D. (2000). 'La historia silenciada' [Online] Paper presented at Seminarios La Memoria. Organized by Fundación Caixa Catalunya and Residencia de Estudiantes, Extremadura (2000). Available from: http://www.lagavillaverde.org/centro_de_documentacion/ponencias/dulce.htm[[Accessed 7 February 2012]

Chandler, D. (1995). *Semiotics for beginners*. [Online] Available from: http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/semiotic.html [Accessed 12 December 2011]

Chandler, D. (2002). *Semiotics. The Basics*. [2nd Edition, 2007]. Oxon: Routeldge

Chronis, A. (2005) 'Co-constructing Heritage at the Getttysburg Storyscape'. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Volume 32 (Issue 2), pp386-406.

Chronis, A. (2008). 'Co-constructing the narrative experience: staging and consuming the American Civil War at Gettysburg'. *Journal of Marketing Management*. Volume 24 (Issue 1-2), pp5-27

Chronis, A. (2012). 'Tourists as story-builders: Narrative construction at a Heritage museum'. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*. Volume 29 (Issue 5), pp444-459

Chronis, A., Arnould, E. J., & Hampton, R. D. (2012). 'Gettysburg re-imagined: The role of narrative imagination in consumption experience'. *Consumption Markets & Culture*. Volume 15 (Issue 3), pp261-286.

Cohen, E. H. (2011) 'Educational Dark tourism at an in populo site. The Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem'. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Volume 38 (Issue 1), pp193-209.

Colmeiro, J. (2011). "Nation of Ghosts?: Haunting, Historical Memory and Forgetting in Post-Franco Spain" [online article] *452F. Electronic Journal of theory of literature and comparative literature*. Volume 4, pp17-34

Comisión de Expertos para el Futuro del Valle de los Caidos (2011). Informe de la Comision / Ministerio de la Presidencia [Online]. Available from: http://www.mpr.es/uploads/media/pdf/5/informe-comision-expertos-vallecaidos_1322570334.pdf [Accessed December 26 2011]

Contreras, P. (2000). 'Símbolo o mito? La memoria cinematográfica del bombardeo de Gernika'. *Ikusgaiak*, Volume 4, pp59 – 74

Copenhaver, J. (2010). "Writerly" versus "Readerly" Fiction. Wordpress. [Online] 10th of August. Available from: http://johncopenhaver.wordpress.com/2010/08/10/Writerly-versus-Readerly-fiction/ [Accessed 24 May 2013]

Corbin, J. (1999). 'Images of war: Picasso's Guernica' Visual Anthropology: Published in cooperation with the Commission on *Visual Anthropology*, Volume 13 (Issue 1), pp1-21

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research*. London: Sage

Cuarto Milenio. (2011), Episode 243, Operación Belchite. Cuatro TV. [18 September 2011]

Cuesta, B. J. (2008). *La odisea de la memoria: historia de la memoria en España*, siglo XX. Madrid: Alianza Editorial

Cunliffe, A. L. (2003). 'Reflexive inquiry in organizational research: questions and Possibilities'. *Human Relations*, Volume 56 (Issue 8), pp983-1003.

Czarniawska, B. (1997). *Narrating the organization: dramas of institutional identity, Chicago*: University of Chicago Press

Czarniawska, B. (2004). *Narratives in Social Science Research. Introducing Qualitative Methods*. London: Sage Publications.

Czarniawska,B. (2008a). *A theory of Organizing*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Czarniawska, B. (2008b). Femmes fatales in finance, or women and the city. Organization. Volume 15(Issue 2), pp165-186.

D

Daams, E. (2007). Dark tourism: Bearing witness or Crass spectacle? [Online] 10th of October, Brave New Traveller. Available from: http://www.bravenewtraveler.com/2007/10/10/dark-tourism-more-than-a-spectacle [Accessed 17 November 2011]

Dann, G. (1998). 'The dark side of tourism'. *Etuddes et Rapports, Serie L, Sociology/Psychology/Philosophy/Anthropology*. Volume 14. Aix-en-Provence: Centre International de Recherches et d'Etudes Touristiqes.

DDRitter (2011). El Valle de las Caidas. [Online] 1350gramos blog. June 15 2011. Available from: http://1350gramos.blogspot.co.uk/2011/06/el-valle-de-las-caidas.html [Accessed 23 August 2011]

De la Iglesia, A. (2010). Interviewed by Juan Manuel de Prada for *ABC*. [Online] December 17 2010. Available from: http://www.abc.es/20101217/cultura-cine/reconciliamos-maldita-20101217.html [Accessed 9 November 2013]

Denzin, N. (1984). *On Using Emotion*. [2009 Edition]. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers

Denzin, N. (2006). Introduction in Triangulation: A case for Methodological and Combination evaluation. In: Norman Denzin (Ed), Sociological Methods: A sourcebook. New Yersey: Transaction Publishers

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative material*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.

De Certeau, M. (1984). *The practices of everyday life* (Rendall, S.F trans). Berkeley: University of California Press.

De Menezes, R, A. (2014). Una agonía esperpéntica? Shifting Memory Horizons and Carnivalesque Representations of the Spanish Civil War and Franco Dictatorship. *Bulleting of Spanish Studies*, Volume 91 (Issues 1-2), pp239-253

Draper, W. (2011). From Guernica to Gaza. Wordpress. [Online] 26th of February. Available from: http://warrendraper.wordpress.com/2011/02/26/from-guernica-to-gaza/[Accessed 12 August 2014]

Drago, A. (2009). The view from within: a perspective on education programmes in particular. In: Kidd, J, 2009, Mapping document and research report for MLA Challenging History project.

E

Edensor, T. (1998). *Tourists at the Taj. Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site*. London: Routledge.

Education Manager of the Tower of London. (2012). 'Developing the Challenging History approach at the Tower of London' presented at Challenging History Conference London. 24th of February 2012.

Edwards. (2008). 'Sir Sean's 'Dark tourism' slur draws support for tours'. *The Scotsman*, Friday, 22nd August 2008

El Pais. (2003). Las cámaras descubren al fantasma del castillo de Enrique VIII. [Online] 21 December Available from: http://elpais.com/elpais/2003/12/21/actualidad/1071992929_850215.html [Accessed 13 December 2010]

Ellis, C., Adams, E, A., and Bochner, P, A. (2010). Autoethnography: An overview. Forum Qualitative Social research. Volume 12 (Issue 1), article 10.

Elorza, O. (2014). Odón Elorza pide al PSOE que promueva en el Congreso una declaración de condena del Valle de los Caídos. [Online] *Europa Press*. August 27 2014. Available from: http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-odon-elorza-pide-psoe-promueva-congreso-declaracion-condena-valle-caidos-20140827182133.html [Accessed 27 August 2014]

Emerson, R., Fretz, R and Shaw, L. (1995). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Emblemma. (2012). Museo de la paz. Gernika. Available from: http://www.emblemma.com/?post_type=portfolio&p=4552&lang=es [Acessed 3 of September 2013]

Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2014). "Readerly vs Writerly" [Online] Encyclopaedia Britannica Online. Available from: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/492826/Readerly-and-Writerly [Accessed 8 of September 2014]

EuropaPress. (2009). Una placa recuerda a las 'Trece Rosas' en el lugar de su fusilamiento [Online] EuropaPress España. Available from: http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-placa-recuerda-trece-rosas-lugar-fusilamiento-20090805132629.html [Accessed 13 December 2010]

Euskal Kultura. (2004). El boletín Elkarri entrevista en su número de septiembre a Iratxe Momoitio, directora del Museo de la Paz de Gernika (en Elkarri) [Online] 20th of September 2004. Available from: http://www.euskalkultura.com/español/noticias/aben-euskadi-hay-suficiente-material-para-poner-en-marcha-un-museo-del-horrorbb-el-boletin-elkarri-entrevista-en-su-numero-de-septiembre-a-iratxe-momoitio-directora-del-museo-de-la-paz-de-gernika-en-elkarri [Accessed 12 October 2012]

Escalas, J, E and Stern B. (2003). 'Sympathy and empathy: Emotional responses to advertising dramas'. *Journal of Consumer Research*. Volume 29 (Issue 4), pp566-78.

Escobar, P. (2010). Dark Tourism. 20th of January. *We Love Music*. [Online] Available from: http://blog.welove-music.com/index.php/culture/dark-tourism/ [Accessed 13 May 2011]

Evans, N. (2009). 'Tourism: A strategic business perspective' In: Jamal, T and Robinson M (Eds), 2009. *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies*. London: SAGE Publications

F

Farrar, M.E. (2011). 'Amnesia, Nostalgia, and the Politics of Place and Memory'. *Political Research Quarterly*. Volume 64 (Issue 4), pp723-735

Ferrandiz, F. (2011). Guerras sin fin: guia para descifar el Valle de los Caidos en la España contemporanea. *Politica y Sociedad*. Volume 48 (Issue 3), pp481-500

Ferrero, J. (2011) *La Trece Rosas*. Madrid: Siruela Publicaciones.

Fisher, R,W. (1985). 'Homo Narrans. The Narrative Paradigm: In the Beginning'. *Journal of Communication.* Volume 35 (Issue 4), pp74-89

Fineman, S. (1993). 'Organisations as emotional arenas'. In: S. Fineman (Ed.), *Emotion in Organizations*: London: Sage, pp9-35.

Fineman, S. (2000). [2nd Edition] Emotion in organizations. London: SAGE Publications

Fineman, S. (2001). 'Emotion in Organizations – new educational agendas?' Paper presented at Social Geographies of Educational Change, Barcelona 11th-14th of March 2001

Finlay, L. (2002). ''Outing' the researcher: The provenance, process, and practice of reflexivity'. *Qualitative health research*, Volume 12 (Issue 4), pp531-545.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). 'Five Misunderstandings about Case- Study Research'. *Qualitative Inquiry*. Volume 12 (Issue.2), pp219-245

Fleming, D. (2012). 'The Emotional Museum'. Paper presented at the Challenging History Conference: Understanding aims, audiences and outcomes in work with difficult and sensitive heritages. London, 23-25 February.

Foley, M and Lennon, J. (1996). 'JFK and dark tourism – a fascination with assassination', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 2 (Issue 4), pp198-211.

Foley, M and Lennon, J. (1997). Dark tourism – An Ethical Dilemma. In: Foley, M., Lennon, J and Maxwell, G. (Eds) (1997) Hospitality, tourism and leisure management. Issues, strategy and culture. London: Cassell, pp153-163

Foote, K.E. (1997). *Shadowed Ground: America' s Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. [Revised edition, 2003]. Austin: Univ. Texas Press

Fowler, P. J. (1992). *The Past In Contemporary Society*. *Then, Now*. London: Routledge.

Forcada, D & Camino, C. (2010). No hace falta volar el Valle de los Caídos... "las estatuas ya están heridas de muerte". El Confidencial. [Online] 20th of November 2010. Available from: http://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/volar-valle-caidos-

situacion-estatuas-20101120-71775.html [Accessed on 13 of September 2014]

Franjic, R. (2011). 'Stories and Storytelling – added value in cultural tourism', presented at The Language of Art and Music Symposium, The Academy of Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin 17th - 20th February 2011[Online] Available from: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/index.php?en_loam2011_participant-papers [Accessed 24 February 2013]

Frew, E.A. (2012). 'Interpretation of sensitive heritage site: the Port Arthur Memorial Garden, Tasmania'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 18 (Issue 1), pp33-48

Furtherglory. (2013). Worn-out shoes are symbolic of the Holocaust [Online] 30th June 2013. Available from: furtherglory.wordpress.com – Scrapbookpagesblog. https://furtherglory.wordpress.com/2013/06/30/worn-out-shoes-are-symbolic-of-the-holocaust/ [Accessed November 12 2013]

G

Gabriel, Y. (1995). 'The unmanaged organization: Stories, fantasies and subjectivity'. *Organization Studies*, Volume 16, pp477–501

Gabriel, Y. (1999). *Organizations in depth*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Gabriel, Y. (2000). *Storytelling in Organizations. Facts, Fictions, and Fantasies.* Oxford: Oxford University press

Gabriel, Y. (2004). *Myths, stories, and organizations. Premodern Narratives for Our Times*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gabriel, Y. (2008). *Organizing Words*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Garcia, B. R. (2012). 'Management issues in dark tourism attractions: The case of ghost tours in Edinburgh and Toledo'. *Journal of Unconventional Parks, Tourism & Recreation Research*, Volume 1 (Issue 4), pp14-19

Gernika-Lumo. (2012). Museo de la Paz. [Online] Gernika-Lumo Municipality. Available from: http://www.gernika-lumo.net/es-ES/Turismo/Descubre-Gernika/Paginas/notelopierdas1_1MuseodelaPaz.aspx [Accessed 23 November 2012]

Giles, H. (2010). At the Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition. [Online] *Harry Giles*. Available from: http://harrygiles.org/tag/imperial-war-museum/ [Accessed 12 June 2012]

Gilgun, J, F. (2010). Reflexivity and Qualitative research. *Current issues in Qualitative Research*, [Ebook Amazon Kindle] Minnesota: USA. Volume 1 (Issue 2) pp1-213.

Gilbert, N. (2008). *Researching Social Life* (3rd Edition), London: Sage.

Goleman, D. (2008). When can empathy move us to action? [Online] Greater Good Magazine. 1st of March. Available from: http://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/hot_to_help [Accessed August 14 2013]

Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2007). Making things public: Archeologies of the Spanish Civil War. *Public Archeology*. Volume 6 (Issue 4), pp203-226

Gonzalez-Ruibal. A. (2009). Topography of terror or cultural heritage? The monuments of Franco's Spain. In: Forbes, N, Page, R y Pérez, G (eds.): *Europe's deadly century. Perspectives on 20th century conflict heritage*. pp65-72. Kemble Drive, Swindon: English Heritage

Graham, H (2005). *The Spanish Civil War. A very short introduction*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Graham, B and Howard, P. (2008). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Hertiage and Identity*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publisihing Limited

H

Hage, J. (2006). *Preservation, tourism and Nationalism. The Jewel of German Past.* Hampshire: Ashgate

Hall, S. (1999). Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation. *Whose heritage?* Third Text. Volume 8 (Issue 49).Hampshire, Palgrave PAGES

Hartmann, R. (2009). Tourism to places with a difficult past. Discussion paper [Online] Available from: http://thunder1.cudenver.edu/.../Hartmann_Discussion%20Paper%202009.pdf [Accessed July 2011]

Hartman, R. (2014). 'Dark tourism, thanatourism, and dissonance in heritage tourism management: new directions in contemporary tourism research'. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. Volume 9 (Issue 2), pp166-182

Heraldo. (2013). Las visitas al pueblo viejo de Belchite dejan más de 16.000 euros en tres meses. [Online] Periodico Heraldo. 15 July 2013. Available from: http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/aragon/zaragoza_provincia/2013/07/16/las_visitas_pueblo_viejo_belchite_dejan_mas_000_euros_tres_meses_242069_1101025.html [Accessed 16 November 2013]

Henderson, S. (2013). ''Clogs, boots and shoes built to the sky': Initial findings from a sociomaterial analysis of education at Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum'. In P. Cunningham (ed.) Identities and Citizenship Education: Controversy, crisis and challenges. London: CiCe. pp678 – 689.

Hickman, L. (2011). How Horrible Histories became a huge hit. [Online] *The Guardian,* 17th of March 2011. Available from:

http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/mar/17/horrible-histories-huge-hit [Accessed 14 January 2012]

Historic Royal Palaces. (2009). Visitors' Needs [Online] Available from: http://www.hrp.org.uk/Resources/HRP_T05_visitor_needs_2.pdf [Accessed 3 Novermber 2010]

Historic Royal Palaces. (2011). Hampton Court Palace [Online] Available from: http://www.hrp.org.uk/HamptonCourtPalace/ [Accessed 12 December 2011]

Historic Royal Palaces. (2012). Cause and principles. [Online] Available from: http://www.hrp.org.uk/aboutus/whoweare/causeandprinciples [Accessed 18 January 2012]

Historic Royal Palaces. (2012a). Family Fun Activities. [Online] Available from: http://www.hrporg.uk/toweroflondon/TowerActivitiesforfamilies?StartTrail=true [Accessed November 2012]

Historic Royal Palaces. (2012b). Guided tours [Online] Available from: http://www.hrp.org.uk/HamptonCourtPalace/stories/costumedguidedtours [Accessed 18 January 2012]

Historic Royal Palaces. (2013). What we do [Online] Available from: http://www.hrp.org.uk/aboutus/whatwedo [Accessed 13 November 2013]

Historic Royal Palaces, (2013a) Yeoman Warders. [Online] Available from: http://www.hrp.org.uk/aboutus/workingforus/ourroles/front-of-house-roles/yeoman-warders [Accessed 13 November 2013]

History. (2014) Henry VIII. [Online] *HISTORY® Magazine.* Available from: http://www.history.co.uk/biographies/henry-viii

Hochschild, A. (1979). 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure'. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume. 85 (Issue 3), pp551-575

Hochschild, A. (1993). « Preface ». In: S. Fineman (1993) (Ed.), Emotion in Organizations, pp9 - 13, London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Holtschneider, H. (2007). 'Victims, Perpetrators, Bystanders? Witnessing, Remembering and the Ethics of Representation in Museums of the Holocaust', *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*. Volume 13 (Issue 1), pp84-104.

Holtschneider, H. (2012). 'Are Holocaust Victims Jewish?: Looking at Photographs in
the Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition'. *Melilah: Manchester Journal of Jewish Studies*, Volume 1, pp91- 106.

Holman Jones, S. (2005). Autoethnography: Making the personal political. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* [2nd ed]. pp.

763–791. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Hoffmann, A, E. (2007). Open-Ended Interviews, Power and Emotional labour. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography. Volume 36 (Issue 3), pp318 - 346

I

I-AM. (2013). Creating a destination shopping experience at the Tower of London. [Online] Available from: http://www.i-amonline.com/case-study/tower-of-london-retail-experience-design [Accessed 3 May 2013]

ICSC. (2014). About us. [Online]. Available from: http://www.sitesofconscience.org/about-us/

Idoiaga E. G. (2006). *The Basque conflict. New Ideas and Prospects for Peace*. United States Institute for Peace

Imperial War Museums. (2011). IWM Equality Strategy 2011-2015. [Online] Available from: http://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/public-document/EqualityStrategy2011-2015.pdf [Accessed 17 June 2012]

Instituto Cervantes. (2014). Antonio Machado. Biografia. [Online] Available from http://www.cervantes.es/bibliotecas_documentacion_espanol/biografias/pekin_antonio_machado.htm [Accessed 12 May 2014]

Infiltrados en el Valle de los Caidos. (2013). Telecinco. 24th of November, 22:00

J

Jardine, L. (2014). A point of view: When historical fiction is more truthful than historical fact. BBC News [Online] 5th of September 2014 Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-29060077 [Accessed 5 September 2014]

Jackson, G. (1974). *Concise History of the Spanish Civil War*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd

Johnstone, B. (2001). Discourse Analysis and Narratives. In: Schiffin, D; Tannen, D and Hamilton, E. (eds) *The handbook of discourse analysis*. Oxford: Blackwells. Chapter 3-B

K

Kaelber, L. (2008). *To See with One's Own Eyes what People are Capable of Doing: On the Effects of Memorial Sites on Visitors* by Pampel Bert reviewed in Canandian Journal of Sociology. Volume 33 (Issue 3), pp749-751

Katriel, T. (2011). Analyzing the Social Life of Personal Experience Stories. In: Holstein, J and Gubrium, F (eds) *Varieties of Narrative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications

Kaye, B and Jacobson, B. (1999). 'True tales and Tall tales. The power of organizational storytelling'. *Training and development*. Volume 3 (Issue 53, pp44-52

Kafka, F. (1988). *The Diaries of Franz Kafka* 1910-1923. New York: Schocken Books classics

Karpf, A. (2000) Bearing Witness [Online] The Guardian. Friday 2 June. Available from:http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2000/jun/02/features11.g21 [Accessed 4 February 2011]

Keep, C; McLaughlin, T and Parmar, R. (1993). Readerly vs Writerly texts. [Online] The Electronic Labyrinth. Available from: http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/elab/elab.html [Accessed 13 July 2013]

Keil, C. (2005). 'Sightseeing in the mansions of the dead'. *Social & Cultural Geography*. Volume 6 (Issue 4), pp479-494

Kelly, C. Horrocks, K. Milnes, Roberts, B and D. Robinson. (Eds) (2005). *Narrative, Memory and Everyday Life*. University of Huddersfield.

King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain. The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford: Berg publications.

Knox, D. (2006). 'The Sacralised Landscapes of Glencoe: from Massacre to Mass Tourism, and Back Again', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Volume 8 (Issue 1), pp185-197

Knudsen, B. T., & Waade, A. M. (2010). *Re-investing authenticity: tourism, place and emotions.* (Eds.) Bristol: Channel view publications.

Kociatkiewicz, J and Kostera, M. (2001). 'Art and Organizing: Lessons for organization theory from the humanities'. *Master of Business Administration*. Volume 50 (Issue 3), pp24-28.

Kostera, M. (2005). *The Quest for the Self-actualizing Organization*. Malmø: Liber.

Kuckartz, U. (2014). 'Basic concepts and the process of qualitative text analysis'. In: *Qualitative text analysis: A guide to methods, practice & using software*, SAGE Publications Ltd: London, pp37-65.

L

Larrazabal, S. R. (2006). *Historia del Ejercito popular de la Republica*. Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros.

Leal, E. P. (n d). Guernica [online]. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia. Available from: http://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/collection/artwork/guernica [Accessed 4 September 2014]

Lennon, J. J., & Foley, M. (1999). 'Interpretation of the unimaginable: the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, and "dark tourism"'. *Journal of Travel Research*, Volume 38 (Issue 1), pp46-50.

Lennon J & Foley. (2000). *Dark Tourism-The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London: Continuum.

Lennon, J. (2005). Journeys into understanding. The Guardian [Online] 23rd of October. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2005/oct/23/darktourism.observerescapesection/print [Accessed 12 June 2011]

Lipstadt, D. (1993). *Denying the Holocaust: The growing assault on truth and memory*. New York: Free Press.

London Dungeon. (2013). Fear is a funny thing [Online] Available from: http://www.thedungeons.com/locations/ [Accessed 14 October 2013]

Losojosdehipatia (2012) Julia Conesa, que mi nombre no se borre de la historia. [Online] *Losojosdehipatia*. Available from: http://losojosdehipatia.com.es/cultura/historia/julia-conesa-que-mi-nombre-no-se-borre-de-la-historia/ [Accessed 14 December 2013]

Lowen, A (1975). *Bioenergetics: The Revolutionary Therapy That Uses the Language of the Body to Heal the Problems of the Mind* [1994 Edition]. Baskerville: Arkana publications.

Lowenthal, D (1998). The Heritage Crusade and the spoils of History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

M

Machado, A. (1912). *Campos de Castilla*. Madrid, Austral

Machado, H, L (2005). La corta vida de trece rosas. *El Pais*: Archivo. 11 December 2005.

Macdonald, S. (2006). Mediating Heritage: Tour Guides at the Former Nazi Party Rally Grounds. *Nuremberg. Tourist Studies*. Volume 6 (Issue 2), pp119–138

Malvar, A. (2005). Belchite, Parque Temático? El Mundo, [Online]. Available from:http://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2005/494/1112479206.html [Accessed 15 December of 2011]

May, T, & Perry, B. (2011). *Social Research & Reflexivity: Content, Consequences and Context*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd

MacCannell, D., & ebrary Academic Complete. (1992). *Empty meeting grounds: The tourist papers*. London ; New York, NY: Routledge.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. *The American Journal of Sociology*. Volume 79 (Issue 3 – Nov 1973), pp589-603

McDowell, S., and Braniff, M. (2014). *Commemoration as Conflict: Space, Memory and Identity in Peace Processes*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McEvoy, E. (2010). West End Ghosts and Southwark Horrors': London's Gothic Tourism. In: Lawrence, P and Witchard, A (eds) *London Gothic: Place, Space and the Gothic Imagination*. London: Continumm

Merrill, S. (2009). Determining Darkness [Online] In: Schmidt, L and Merrill, S (eds) Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism - Study Project. Available from: http://www.tu-cottbus.de/fakultaet2/de/denkmalpflege/lehre/studenten-projekte/uncomfortable-heritage-and-dark-tourism.html [Accessed 14 November 2011]

Messham-Muir, K. (2004). 'Dark Visitations: The Possibilities and Problems of Experience and Memory in Holocaust Museums.' *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Art*. Volume 4 (Issue 2), pp97-111

Moore, L. (2009). '(Re) covering the past, remembering trauma: the politics of commemoration at sites of atrocity'. *Journal of Public and International Affairs*. Volume 20 (Spring Issue), pp47-6458

Monarth, H. (2014). The Irresistible Power of Storytelling as a Strategic Business Tool. [Online] *Harvard Business Review* [March 11 2014]. Available from: https://hbr.org/2014/03/the-irresistible-power-of-storytelling-as-a-strategic-business-tool/ [Accessed 5 November 2014]

Montaya, X. (2002). Belchite, Las Huellas de la memoria. [Online] La Vanguardia, 9th of October. Available from: http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.es/preview/1943/09/12/pagina2/33981498/pdf.html?search=Las%20ruinas%20de%20Belchite.[Accessed 13 December 2011]

Monroe, M, C. (2002). 'Evaluation s Friendly Voice: The Structured Open-Ended Interview'. *Applied Environmental Education & Communication*. Volume 1 (Issue 2), pp101 - 106

Morgan N., and Pritchard, A. (1998). *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, creating identities*. Wiley: Chichester.

Morley, D. (2007). *The Cambridge Introduction to Creative Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Mowatt, Rasul A.; Chancellor, Charles H. (2011). 'Visiting death and life: Dark tourism and Slave Castles'. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Volume 38 (Issue4) pp1410-1434

Miles, W. (2002). 'Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism'. *Annals*

of Tourism Research. Volume 29 (Issue 4), pp1175-1178

Miller, E. (2011). Theories of Story and Storytelling [Online] Available from: www.storytellinginstitute.org/24.pdf [Accessed 4 January 2012]

Museodelapaz. (2012). Visita. [Online] Available from: http://www.museodelapaz.org/es/guiada.php [Accessed 1 November 2012]

N

Narbaiza, O, I. (2008). El museo de la paz de Guernika y su proyecto educativo. [Online] Available from http://tumbi.crefal.edu.mx/decisio/images/pdf/decisio_20/decisio20_saber4.pdf [Accessed 22 September 2012]

Nadin, S and Cassell, C. (2006). 'The use of a research diary as a tool for reflexive practice: Some reflections from management research', *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management.* Volume 3 (Issue 3), pp208 – 217

Nazarian, V (2002) *Dreams of the Compass Rose.* California: Norilana Books.

NewWorldEncyclopedia. (2013). *Ars Moriendi.* [Online] Available from: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Ars_moriendi [Accessed July 2015]

Nock, M. K., Michel, B. D., & Photos, V. I. (2007). Single-case research designs. In D. McKay (Ed.), Handbook of research methods in abnormal and clinical psychology, pp. 337-350.Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Novelli, M. (Ed.). (2005). *Niche tourism: contemporary issues, trends and cases*. London: Routledge.

O

Okan, Z. (2003). 'Edutainment: is learning at risk?', *British Journal of Educational Technology*. Volume 34 (Issue 3), pp255-264.

Oliver, M. (2010). La presencia de miles de fieles obliga a Patrimonio a abrir el Valle de los Caidos. ABC, [Online] (Last updated 7.45am on 11th of November 2010). Available from: http://www.abc.es/20101114/local-madrid/miles-fieles-obligan-patrimonio-201011141043.html [Accessed 3 October 2011]

Olmeda, F. (2009). *El Valle de los Caidos. Una memoria de España*. Barcelona: Ediciones Peninsula

Ortlipp, M. (2008). 'Keeping and using reflective journals in the Qualitative Research process',*The Qualitative Report.* Volume 13 (Issue 4), pp695 - 705

Oxford English Dictionary (2012). Story. [Online] Available from: http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/story [Accessed 7 January 2012]

Oxford English Dictionary. (2012). Disinherit [Online] Available from: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/disinherit?q=disinheriting [Accessed 3 June 2015]

Ozer, S.U; Ersoy, G. K., & Tuzunkan, D. (2012). 'Dark Tourism In Gallipoli: Forecast Analysis to Determine Potential of Australian Visitors', *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences.* Volume 41, pp386-393.

P

Palmer, Catherine. (2014). Afterword: the experience of 'matter out of place'. In: Andrews, H., ed. Tourism and Violence. *New Directions in Tourism Analysis*. Ashgate: Farnham.

Parry, B. (2009). Dark tourism – Can you have a hirearchy of tragedy?. [Online] Paper presented at the Tourist Experiences: Meanings, Motivations & Behaviours conference (2009) UCLAN University, Preston. 1-4 April. Available from: http://ssudl.solent.ac.uk/239/ [Accessed 14 April 2012]

Patrimonio Nacional. (1960). *La Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caidos Tourist guide*. Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional.

Patrimonio Nacional. (1985). *La Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caidos Tourist guide*. Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional

Patrimonio Nacional. (2011). *Presentation*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.patrimonionacional.es/Home/Presentacion.aspx [Accessed 5 January 2012]

Patimonio Nacional. (2014). The Institution. [Online] Available from: http://www.patrimonionacional.es/en/the-institution/presentation [Accessed 14 August 2015]

Patton, Q, M. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation methods* [3rd edition] London: Sage Publications Inc

Pellowski, A. (1977). *The World of Storytelling*. London: R Bowker.

Peña, A (n.d). Calle Mayor Pueblo Viejo de Belchite.[Online] Available from: http://www.turismodezaragoza.es/provincia/patrimonio/otro/calle-mayor-belchite.html [Accessed 7 January 2012]

Perez, L. (2013). Historia de ETA: de su nacimiento a la transicion democratica. *SUITE 101*. [Online] 3rd of July. Available from: http://suite101.net/article/historia-de-eta-de-su-nacimiento-a-la-transiciondemocrtica-a35554#.VBoh10ttLa5 [Accessed 6 June 2014]

Picasso, P (1973). Statement made at the The Spanish Pavillion.. [Online] Guernica 70th Anniversary. Available from: http://www.guernica70th.com/english/pavilion.html [Accessed 6 June 2014]

Pickard, P. (2007). Dark Tourism. Travel to sites associated with death, disaster and depravity. In: *Lonely Planet Bluelist*. The Best in travel 2007. Victoria: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd.

Podoshen J.S. (2013) Dark tourism motivations: Simulation, emotional contagion and topographic comparison. In: Tourism Management. Volune 35 (Issue April 2013), pp263-271

Polkinghorne, D.E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Polletta, F., Chen, P. C. B., Gardner, B. G., & Motes, A. (2011). 'The sociology of Storytelling'. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Volume 37, pp109-130.

Prusak, L. (2005). Storytelling in Organizations: Categories of stories in organizations. In: Brown, S.J; Denning, S; Groh, K and Prusak, L (eds). 2005. *Storytelling in Organizations. Why storytelling is transforming 21st century organizations and management*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann

Plumb, J. H. (1969). *The Death of the past* (3rd edition), London: Macmillan

Pullman, P. (2008). Interviewed by Scholastic Book Clubs [Online] Available from: http://clubs-kids.scholastic.co.uk/clubs_content/7922 [Accessed 17 August 2014]

R

RAE. (2014). Esperpento [Online] Available from: http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=esperpento [Accessed 2 June 2014]

Raento, P and Watson, C, J. (2000) 'Gernika, Guernica, Guernica? Contested meanings of a Basque place'. *Political Geography*. Volume 19, pp 707-736

Radstone, S. and Schwartz, B. (2010) (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates.* New York: Fordham University Press.

Rainsford, S. (2011). *Fate of Franco's Valley of Fallen reopens Spain wounds.* BBC [Online] (Last updated at 00.20am on 19th of July 2011) Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14189534?print=true [Accessed 13 January 2012]

Rapley, J, T. (2001) 'The art(fulness) of open-ended interviewing: some considerations on analysing interviews.' *Qualitative Research*. Volume 1 (Issue 3), pp303–323.

Rhodes, C. (2002) 'Text, Plurality and Organisational Knowledge/ I like to Write about Organisations'. *Ephemera: Critical dialogues on organization*. Volume 2 (Issue 2), pp98-118.

Rice, A. (2010) *Creating memorials, Building Identities: The politics of Memory in*

the Black Atlantic. [Reprint edition (28 Feb. 2012)]. Liverpool University Press;

Ricoeur, P. (1984). *Time and Narrative*, (Translated by K.Mclaughlin & D.Pellaver). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Riessman, C.K. (2004). Narrative Analysis. In: M.S. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman , T. Futing Liao (eds) *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. London UK and Newbury Park CA: SAGE Publications Ltd

Riessman, C.K and Quinney, L. (2005). 'Narrative in Social Work: A Critical Review'. *Qualitative Social Work*. Volume 4(Issue 4), pp391-412.

Reissner, S. (2008). *Narratives of organizational Change and Learning. Making sense of Testing times*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Robson, C. (1993). *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwells

Robb. M, E. (2009). 'Violence and Recreation: Vacationing in the Realm of Dark tourism'. *Anthropology and Humanism*, Volume 34 (Issue 1), pp51– 60.

Robledo, R; Claret, J and San Roman M, R. (2007). *Esta Salvaje Pesadilla. Salamanca en la Guerra Civil Española*. Barcelona: Editorial Critica.

Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of Escape: modern transformations in leisure and travel*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Rowlinson, M; Booth, C; Clark, P; Delahaye, A and Procter, S. (2010). 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'. *Organizational Studies*, Volume 31 (Issue 1), pp69-87

Rubin, H.J., and Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

S

Salmons, P. (2001). 'Moral dilemmas: history teaching and the Holocaust'. *Teaching History,* Volume 104, pp34-40

Salmons, P. (2005). Touching the past: reading artefacts and the search for meaning [Online] Proceedings of the first conference History in British Education. London, 14-15 February, 2005. Available from: http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/history-in-british-education/first-conference/salmons-paper [Accessed 13 February 2013]

Salvado, R.F. (2005). *The Spanish Civil War. Origins, Courses and Actions*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Sarbin, T. R. (1986). The narrative as root metaphor for psychology. In: Sarbin, T, R (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*, pp3-21. New York: Praeger.

Scotsman. (2008) *Sir Sean's 'Dark tourism' slur draws support for tours'*. The Scotsman [Online] Friday 22 August 2008. Available from: http://www.scotsman.com/news/sir_sean_s_dark_tourism_slur_draws_support_for_tours_1_1270364 [Accessed September 2011]

Scott, R, W and Davis, F.G. (2013) *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems perspectives*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Seaton A.V. (1996). 'Guided by the dark: from thanatopsis to thanatourism'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 2(Issue 4), pp234-244.

Seaton, A. V. (2001). 'Sources of Slavery – Destinations of Slavery: The Silences of Disclosures of Slavery Heritage in the UK and US'. In: Dann, M.S. & Seaton, A.V. (eds.) *Slavery, Contested Heritage and Thanatourism*. New York: The Harworth Hospitality Press.

Seaton, A.V. (2009). 'Purposeful otherness: Approaches to the Management of Thanatourism'. In: R. Sharpley and PStone (eds), *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. London: Cognizent

Shacklock, G and Smyth, J. (1998). *Being Reflexive in Critical Educational and Social Research*. London: Falmer

Shermer, M and Grobman, A. (2000). *Denying History: Who says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why do They Say It?*. London: University California Press

Silvan, R. (2014). Dark Tourism: for travellers who like vacations with a macabre twist. May 27th [Online] Luck & Gravity blog. Available from: http://luckandgravity.com/dark-tourism-for-travellers-who-like-vacations-with-a-macabre-twist/ [Accessed 28 May 2014]

Smith, N and Croy, G.W. (2005). Presentation of Dark tourism: Te Wairoa, The buried village. In: Ryan, C. Page, S and Aicken, M. (Eds) (2005) *Taking tourism to the limits: issues, concepts and managerial perspectives*. Elsevier Ltd. Chapter 19.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage* [New Ed edition] New York: Routledge

Soroa R. J. (n,d). *El Canon Nacionalista. La argumentacion del "conflicto" Vasco*. Fundación para la Libertad. [Online] available from: http://paralalibertad.org/wp-content/uploads/Ruiz_Soroa.pdf [Accessed 7 May 2013]

Spradley, J. (1979). *Participant Observation*. New York: Reintart and Wilson

Stanley, L. (2006). *Mourning becomes…Post/Memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War*. Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Steinbeck, J. (1969). *The Art of Fictionl*. Interviewed by George Plimpton and Frank Crowther for The Paris Review, Volume 48. [Online] available from: http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/3810/the-art-of-fiction-no-45-john-steinbeck [Accessed 23 November 2013]

Strange, C. & Kempa, M. (2003). 'Shades of dark tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Volume 30(Issue 2), pp386-405.

Stone, PR and Sharpley, R. (2008). Consuming Dark tourism: A thanatological perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Volume 35 (Issue 2), p 574-595

Stone, PR and Sharpley, R. (2009). *The darker side of travel. The Theory and Practice of Dark tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sharpley, R. & Stone, P.R. (2012). *Contemporary Tourist Experience: Concepts and Consequences*. Abington: Oxon: Routledge.

Stone, P.R (2006). 'A Dark Tourism Spectrum: towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions', *TOURISM: An Interdisciplinary International Journal*. Volume 54 (Issue 2) pp.145-160.

Stone, P.R. (2009). Dark Tourism: Morality and New Moral Space. In R.Sharpley & P.R.Stone (eds) The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism, Channel View Publications, Bristol: 56-72

Stone, P. R (2010). *Death, Dying and Dark Tourism in Contemporary Society: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis*. Doctoral Thesis (PhD), University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK.

Stone, P.R (2011). *The Commodification of Death: A Reflection on dark tourism research, education & media interest.* Paper presented at Death in Education, CDAS Seminar Series, University of Bath, UK, December 9th 2011. Available online from: http://works.bepress.com/philip_stone/35/

Stone, P.R. (2012). 'Dark Tourism and Significant Other Death: Towards a model of mortality mediation'. *Annals of Tourism Research,* Volume 39 (Issue 3), pp1565-1587.

Stone, P.R. (2013). Dark Tourism Scholarship: a critical review. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*. Volume 7 (Issue 3), pp307 - 318

Stone, P.R (2014). Presentation at the *Shining a light on dark tourism research conference*, 26th of September 2014, Preston.

Stone, P.R. and Sharpley R. (2013). 'Deviance, Dark Tourism and 'Dark Leisure': Towards a (re)configuration of morality and the taboo in secular society'. In: S. Elkington and S. Gammon (Eds) *Contemporary Perspectives in Leisure: Meanings, Motives and Lifelong Learning*, Abington, Oxon: Routledge

T

Tarlow P.E (2005). Dark Tourism – the appealing 'dark side of tourism and more', In: Novelli, M. (Ed) (2005) *Niche Tourism, Contemporary Issues Trends and Cases*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth: Heinemann, pp47-58.

Tarlow, S. (1999). *Bereavement and Commemoration. An archaeology of Mortality*. Oxford: Blackwell publishers Inc.

Taylor, J and Todman, D. (2012). 'The Challenges of Interpreting the First World War'. Paper presented at the Challenging History Conference: Understanding aims, audiences and outcomes in work with difficult and sensitive heritages. London, 23-25 February.

Thurley, S. (2011). 'Civilisation: Who decides?'. Paper presented at the 40th Anniversary Gerald Walter's Memorial Lecture, University of Bath, UK. 23rd of May 2011.

The Tower of London. (2012). Yeoman Warders. [Online] Available from: http://www.hrporg.uk/TowerOfLondon/stories/yeomanwarder [Accessed February 2012]

Thompson, R.C. (2010). 'Am I Going to See a Ghost Tonight?": Gettysburg Ghost Tours and the Performance of Belief'. The Journal of American Culture, Volume 33 (Issue 2), pp 79-91

Toolan, Michael.J. (1988). *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction.* London: Routledge

Toolan, M.J. (1992). Language, Text and Context: Essays in Contextualized Stylistics (Editor). London, Routledge

Torres, R (2005). *Desaparecidos de la Guerra de España (1936 - ?)*. Barcelona: RBA
Coleccionables S.A

Trembath, R. (2007). Guernica and After: Australian War Correspondents and the Spanish Civil War. Proceedings of the Australian Media Traditions 2007 conference, 22-23 November 2007. Bathurst, Australia: Charles Sturt University.

Tsoukas, H., & Hatch, M. J. (2001). Complex thinking, complex practice: The case for a narrative approach to organizational complexity. Human Relations, Volume 54(Issue 8), pp 979-1013.

U

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (n.d). Photograph 50897. [Online] Available from: http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1154420 [Accessed 12th of December 2012]

UN General Assembly. (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th of December, 217 A (III), Available from: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3712c.html [Accessed 6 September 2014

University of Bath (2014). Code of good practice in research [Online] Available from http://www.bath.ac.uk/opp/research/Code_of_Good_Practice_in_Research-finalV3.pdf [Accessed on 5th of September 2014]

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*. [Second Edition, 2002]. London: Sage.

Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.

USHMM (n.d). Photo Archives. [Online] Available from: http://www.ushmm.org/research/research-in-collections/overview/photo-archives [Accessed 15 March 2014]

Uzzell, D. (1989). Heritage Interpretation. Volume 1, The Natural and Built Environment. London, Belhaven

V

Valledeloscaidos. (2012). 'La Cruz' [Online] Available at: http://www.valledeloscaidos.es/monumento/paso [Accessed 3 November 2012]

Van Maanen, J. (1991). 'The smile factory: Work at Disneyland'. In: Frost, J.P Reframing Organizational Culture, pp58-76. London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Vázquez Astorga, M. (2010). "Belchite: un nuevo pueblo nacido a la sombra de unas gloriosas ruinas" In Cinca Yago, Jaime y Ona González, José Luis (Coordinators), Comarca de Campo de Belchite, Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 2010, pp241-248.

W

Wachtman, E., & Johnson, S., (2009). The persuasive power of story. *Marketing Management*, Volume 18 (Issue 1), pp28–34

Walter, T. (2009). "Dark tourism: Mediating between the Dead and the Living". In: Sharpley, R and Stone P R (Eds) The darker side of travel. The theory and practice of Dark tourism. Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp39-55

Walton, J. K. (2009). 'Histories of Tourism' In: Jamal, T and Robinson M (Eds), 2009. The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies. London, SAGE

Walsh, J. (1992). *The Representation of the Past*. London: Routledge

Wasserman, V., Rafaeli, A., & Kluger, A.N. (2000). Aesthetic symbols as emotional cues, in: S. Fineman (Ed.), Emotions in Organization, 2nd edition, London: Sage.

Waterton, E and Watson, S. (2014). *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Watt, D. (2007). On Becoming a Qualitative Researcher: The Value of Reflexivity. The Qualitative Report, Volume 12 (Issue 1), pp82-101.

Weick, Karl E. (1995). *Sensemaking In Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Wearing, S and Darcy, S. (2011). Inlcusion of the "Othered" in Tourism. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, Volume 3 (Issue 2), pp18-34

World Tourism Organization. (1999). Global code of ethics for tourism. [Online] Available from: http://ethics.unwto.org/content/global-code-ethics-tourism [Accessed September 2011]

Woodworth, P. (2001). Why do they kill? The Basque conflict in Spain. *World Policy Journal*, Volume 18 (Issue 1), pp1-12

Winter, J. (2010). Sites of Memory. In: Radstone, S. and Schwartz, B. (2010) (eds.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. New York: Fordham University Press. pp312-324

Wiseman, R., Watt, C., Stevens, P., Greening, E., & O'Keeffe, C. (2003). An investigation into alleged 'hauntings'. British Journal of Psychology, Volume 94, pp195-211.

Wight A, C. (2006). 'Philosophical and methodological praxes in dark tourism: Controversy, contention and the evolving paradigm', Journal of Vacation Marketing, Volume 12 (Issue 2), pp119-129.

Y

Yanow, D. (1998). Space Stories, studing useums buldings as organizational spaces while reflecting on interpretative methods and their narration. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, Volume 7 (Issue 3), pp215-239

Ybema, S; Yanow, D; Wels,H and Kamsteeg, F., (2009). [eds]. Organizational Ethnography. Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life. London. SAGE Publications Ltd

Yeste, E (2010). La transición Española. Reonciliación Nacional a cambio de la desmemoria. El olvido público de la Guerra Civil. *Historia Actual Online*, Volume 21 (Winter Issue), pp7-12

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study research: design and methods*. 3rd edition. London, Sage.

Yuill, S. M. (2003). Dark tourism: Understanding visitor motivations at sites of death and disaster, Masters dissertation, Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism

Sciences, Texas A&M University. Available from http://handle.tamu.edu/1969.1/89[Accessed 12 June 2011].

Appendices

Appendix 1. Example of semi-structured interview in the UK.

Interview with HRP Head of Access and Learning

These interview questions were prepared for the HRP Head of Access and Learning and were not asked in the same order as they appear below. At the end, during the interview, the interviewee would either answer another question before it was asked, or would mention something that I could relate with a different question. However, having these questions helped me keep the interview on track and get answers to the main research questions.

Questions

- What is a normal working day for you? What are your responsibilities as HRP Head of Access and Learning?
- On the official web page of Historic Royal Palaces [Interpretation section] it is stated that *"Learning is at the heart of our interpretation and storytelling is the means by which we deliver our strategy. We tell the palaces' stories in a warm, lively and personal tone of voice using rich and varied imagery and live, costumed interpreters."* (Taken from official web page)

- With that in mind, what is your interpretation strategy? In what ways is storytelling important for this strategy and why?

- What are the main challenges and opportunities about interpreting the past? Does this shape the way the stories are found and told at the site? If so how?

- What do you think are the main characteristics of good storytelling? And a good story?

- It says on your web page that the stories are told in a warm and lively tone of voice; why is this significant and why do you feel the need to state this on the web page?

- Are there any organisational aims behind the stories you tell? And behind the ones you don't tell?

- (Regarding possible untold stories), what sort of details or stories are not told and why?

- Who decides what stories are told at the site/ sites? And do other groups outside the organisation influence them? [If so, how?] Are there any stories or particular facts that have been contested by other groups? [Any controversies?]

- I believe part of your storytelling strategy is making visitors participate in the stories you tell. Why is it important for visitors to participate and how do you achieve this? Are visitors engaged with in the same way at all Historic Royal Palace's sites [If not, how is it different?]

- Through the use of storytelling and narratives you are mediating meaning between the site and its visitors, do you agree? [If so, how does the organisation deal with the responsibility of creating and interpreting stories and then transmitting them to visitors?

- Continuing with communicating stories to visitors, what other narrative devices do you use to engage with them?

- How important it is for the organisation to tell the stories in the 'real' place where they happened and why?

- Regarding visitors, what sorts of people visit the site and what do you think are their expectations and motivations to visit the site? Do you bear these in mind when planning their experiences at the site?

- How do you think visitors' expectations differ from those that visit the Tower of London?

- Are stories told in a different manner or modified according to the type of visitor? [For example for children under the age of 12?]

- Questions for both Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London.--*The curators have to "find out the best stories from the history of the five palaces and share them with our visitors, members and colleagues".*

    - What is the role of the curators in the storytelling process?
    - Once the curators have found the appropriate stories, how are these changed or processed before they are told to visitors?
    - Tour guides, do they have a say about what stories to tell and how? What is their part in the storytelling strategy at the site? [Do they receive any training?]

- How do you combine the touristic aspect of the visit with the educational one [the so-called Edutainment]? And how are both things balanced?

- Some people can see combining education and entertainment out of a tragic history or past as frivolous or unethical. What is your opinion on this? What are the ethical considerations you bear in mind when planning visitors experience at the site? [Regarding for example the stories told and the displays at the site, guided tours?]

- At the Challenging History Conference (2012) someone said, "the Tower of London is quite like Disneyland" perhaps referring to the possible sanitation and embellishment of facts for the entertainment of visitors. What is your opinion on this? And is Hampton Court Palace using such sanitising techniques at all?

- The emotions visitors perceive and feel at a site is crucial if they are to learn and remember what they have been told at a site. Bearing this in mind, do the stories you tell convey certain emotions such as sadness, empathy, joy and if so how? [Do you take this emotional aspect into account when deciding what stories to tell and how?]

• Questions about Ghost tours and ‘darker’ history of the Palace – use if these themes do not come up during the interview

Questions about the Tower of London in relation to Hampton Court

• “500 years of dramatic often violent history Hampton Court Palace is commonly regarded as one of Britain’s most haunted buildings” – Historic Royal Palaces Website

- While at the Tower of London the dramatic past of the site seems to be used as a main tourist attraction, at Hampton Court Palace that is not the case, do you agree? And if so why this is not incorporated to the daily stories told at Hampton Court Palace?
- Ghost tours seem to have proved popular [I have tried to book several times but they are always sold out]. Why do you think they have been very popular?
- How were the ghost tours devised and for what purpose? – Who decides what stories were going to be told during these tours?
- Have you heard the term ‘dark tourism’?
- Do you think that telling stories about Hampton Court’s dramatic past, as well as ghost stories could make it a site for dark tourism?
- Would you say that the Tower of London is a dark tourism destination?

Appendix 2. Example of semi-structured Interview in Spain

Interview with Professor Alberto Barcena

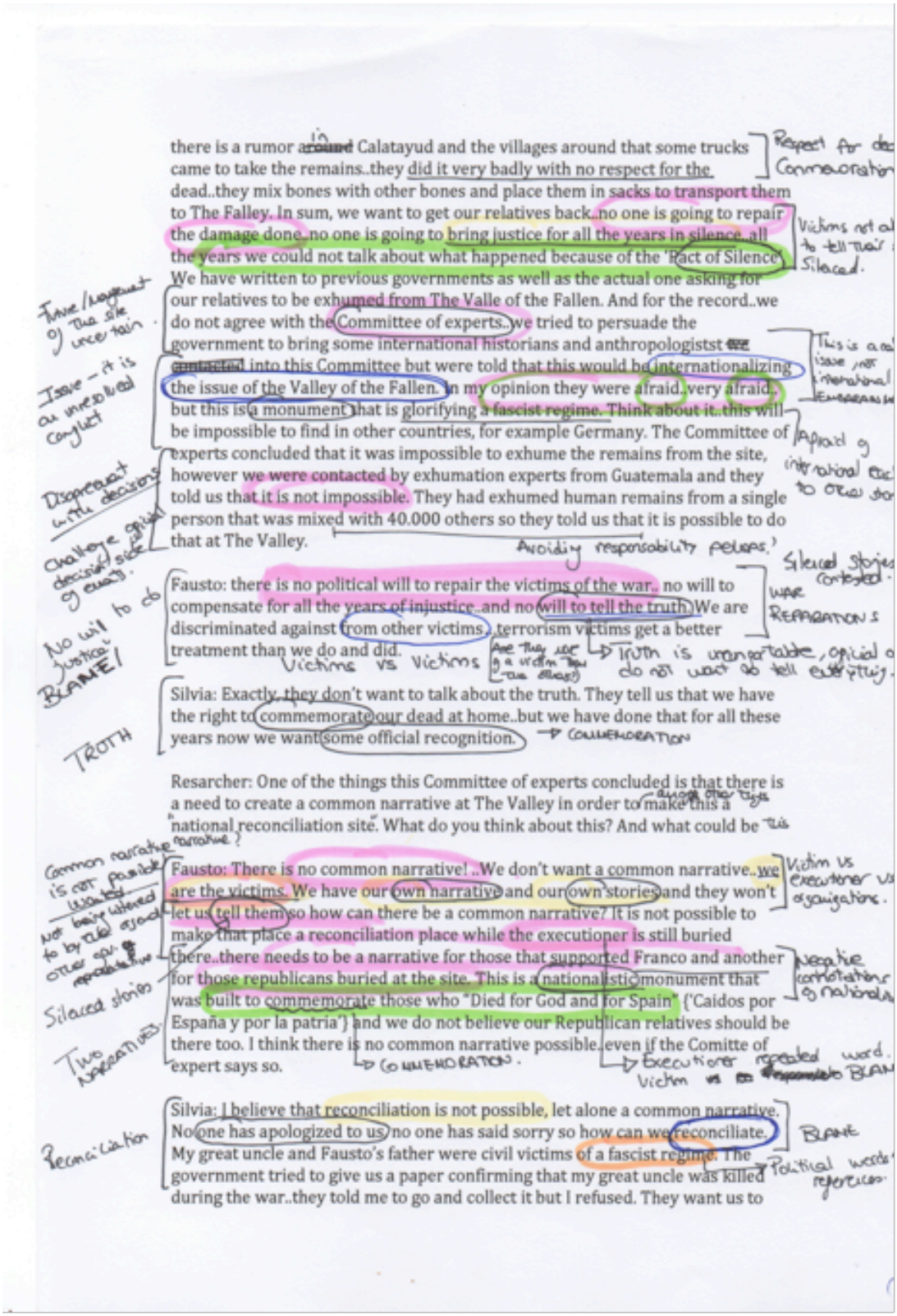
These questions were prepared for the interview with the University history professor that explored different aspects of The Valley of the Fallen for his PhD thesis, that at the time of the interview was about to finalise. With this in mind, some questions refer to his research directly. These questions were used as a guide and, therefore, some questions were asked in different order as the one that follows. What is more, the interview was conducted in Spanish and later translated during the data analysis process.

Questions

- Father Cantera mentioned that you have been investigating The Valley of the Fallen for three years now as part of your PhD thesis, can you tell me what your research is about?
- What were your main conclusions?
- What is The Valley of the Fallen? What do you think it represents? – [Note: Question to find/confirm relationship with the site]
- In your opinion, is the site a controversial place? If so why?
- Do think that controversy is a recent thing?
- What are your views regarding the way Patrimonio Nacional manages the site?
- Who decides what is told and what is not at the site in your opinion?
- The Valley of the Fallen has been a very popular touristic site until its closure. What is your opinion about this touristic side of the site? And about the closure?
- Coming back to Patrimonio Nacional, there seems to be a lack of information at The Valley of the Fallen, do you agree? Why do you think this is?
- Who should be responsible for telling the history of The Valley of the Fallen?

- What should that history include? / Do you think is important to tell the history of the site?
- What do you think visitors to The Valley look for (when it was open)? What sort of visitors are they?
- Is it important to interpret the past and the history of the place? What are in your opinion the main challenges and opportunities of doing so?
- Are you aware of Patrimonio Nacional's interpretative approach at the site? And the storytelling approach?
- Since you have been studying The Valley of the Fallen for a long time, do you think there are certain historical silences at the site?
- The Valley aims to be a symbol of reconciliation between the 'Two Spains', what are your views about this?
- Is that reconciliation possible?
- Are there any particularly controversial symbols at The Valley of the Fallen? [Ask about the cross if interviewee does not bring it up]
- Is a common or single narrative to embrace all stakeholders at the site possible?
- What is your opinion about the Committee of Experts and the conclusions of the report?
- Are political and social pressures affecting the site? If so how?

Appendix 3. Example of colour coding and manual analysis of interviews



there is a rumor around Calatayud and the villages around that some trucks came to take the remains..they did it very badly with no respect for the dead..they mix bones with other bones and place them in sacks to transport them to The Falley. In sum, we want to get our relatives back..no one is going to repair the damage done..no one is going to bring justice for all the years in silence..all the years we could not talk about what happened because of the 'Pact of Silence'. We have written to previous governments as well as the actual one asking for our relatives to be exhumed from The Valle of the Fallen. And for the record..we do not agree with the Committee of experts..we tried to persuade the government to bring some international historians and anthropologistst ~~were~~ contacted into this Committee but were told that this would be internationalizing the issue of the Valley of the Fallen. In my opinion they were afraid..very afraid.. but this is a monument that is glorifying a fascist regime. Think about it..this will be impossible to find in other countries, for example Germany. The Committee of experts concluded that it was impossible to exhume the remains from the site, however we were contacted by exhumation experts from Guatemala and they told us that it is not impossible. They had exhumed human remains from a single person that was mixed with 40.000 others so they told us that it is possible to do that at The Valley.

Fausto: there is no political will to repair the victims of the war.. no will to compensate for all the years of injustice..and no will to tell the truth. We are discriminated against from other victims.. terrorism victims get a better treatment than we do and did.

Silvia: Exactly..they don't want to talk about the truth. They tell us that we have the right to commemorate our dead at home..but we have done that for all these years now we want some official recognition.

Resarcher: One of the things this Committee of experts concluded is that there is a need to create a common narrative at The Valley in order to make this a "national reconciliation site". What do you think about this? And what could be this narrative?

Fausto: There is no common narrative!..We don't want a common narrative..we are the victims. We have our own narrative and our own stories and they won't let us tell them so how can there be a common narrative? It is not possible to make that place a reconciliation place while the executioner is still buried there..there needs to be a narrative for those that supported Franco and another for those republicans buried at the site. This is a nationalistic monument that was built to commemorate those who "Died for God and for Spain" ('Caidos por España y por la patria') and we do not believe our Republican relatives should be there too. I think there is no common narrative possible..even if the Comitte of expert says so.

Silvia: I believe that reconciliation is not possible, let alone a common narrative. No one has apologized to us, no one has said sorry so how can we reconciliate. My great uncle and Fausto's father were civil victims of a fascist regime. The government tried to give us a paper confirming that my great uncle was killed during the war..they told me to go and collect it but I refused. They want us to

Appendix 4. Julia Conesa's final letter and picture

The prisoners who were going to be executed, during Franco's regime, were allowed to write a final letter to their families the day before the fatal outcome. Julia Conesa, member of the Socialist Youth movement, wrote this letter some hours before being shot alongside twelve more young girls in a cold morning of the 4th of August 1939. The letter she wrote to her mother was as follows (translated by researcher from original):

" Mother, brothers, with all my love and enthusiasm I ask you not cry for me. I exit [this world] without crying. Take care of my mother. They kill me being innocent, but I also die like an innocent should.

Mother, beloved mother, I am going to meet my brother and my father to the other world, but be assured I die as an honest person.

Goodbye dear mother, goodbye forever.

Your daughter that would never again kiss or hug you.

Julia Conesa.

Kisses for all of you, nor you or my comrades weep.

Do not let my name be erased from history"

(Source: Machado, 2005)

Picture of Julia Conesa some months before her execution (Source: losojosdehipatia, 2012)